Preparation of the world for Christ.

David R. Breed, D.D.

OCT -- 1957

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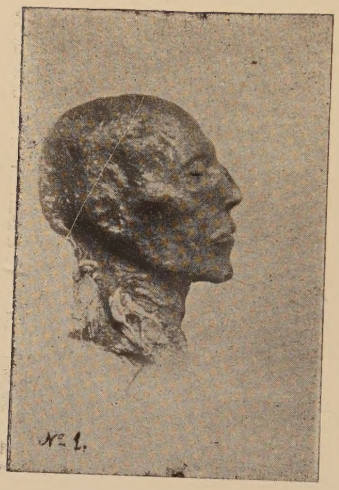

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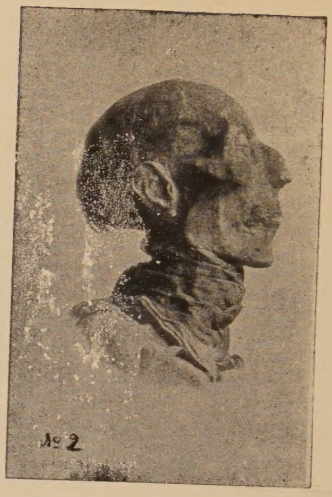

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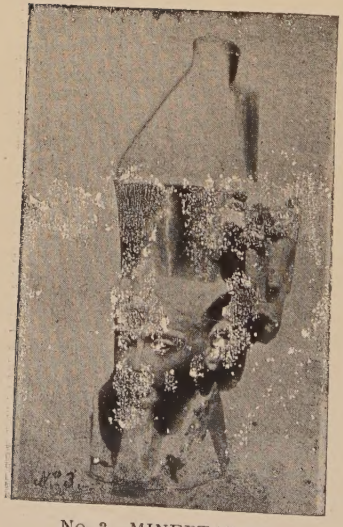

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THE PHARAOHS OF THE BONDAGE.

A HISTORY

OF THE

PREPARATION OF THE WORLD

FOR

CHRIST

— BY —

REV. DAVID R. BREED, D. D.

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PREFACE.

While the subject which is treated in the following pages is not a new one, there is no work devoted to its separate consideration. There are books in which certain phases of providential history are discussed, and many in which events, as they pass in review, are appropriately attributed to the divine direction of human affairs. But it has seemed to me that there was a distinct call for yet another volume, in which such events should be treated comprehensively under a single title and with exclusive reference to the redemptive purpose of God. Such a work should prove a welcome help to Bible students, such as candidates for the ministry, Sunday-school teachers and others in training for Christian work, and indeed to all who desire a better understanding of the conditions under which the Gospel was originally proclaimed.

While it may not be necessary for one to acquire a general knowledge of history in order to read the Bible to his own salvation, yet the story of Redemption is invested with a deeper meaning and conveys a much more impressive lesson when one has first obtained an intelligent apprehension of the nature of mankind's

departure from God, and of the method employed to lead it back to himself—the preparation of the world for redemption and the preparation of redemption for the world.

One thus instructed will understand not only the connection between the Old Testament and the New, but the relation of the times before Christ to those since Christ; he will behold in history the progressive outworking of a great and gracious plan.

This will sufficiently indicate my object in the preparation of the present work. It is commended to those classes which I have had in mind. I have endeavored to consult their needs in the material employed and in the method of its arrangement. I give also in the foot-notes references to a number of books which are within easy reach, for the benefit of the interested reader, who desires to substantiate the statements made or pursue them at greater length.

I sincerely desire that the volume may be of real service; increasing the knowledge of redemption, leading some to the Saviour and promoting the glory of God.

DAVID R. BREED.

CHICAGO, Sept. 1891.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

A second edition of this book being called for, I have embraced the opportunity to make a number of important additions, including two entire chapters (V. and XII.), which seemed to be required in order to the full presentation of my theme.

Certain valuable works, which have appeared since the publication of the first edition, have been consulted and the material thus furnished has been embodied in the text and indicated in the foot notes. The last edition of Brugsch, however, has added nothing and altered nothing, so that the references to the original work in two volumes remain.

I wish to express my gratitude for the kind reception given to the work and my deep desire for its yet greater usefulness.

DAVID R. BREED.

CHICAGO, May, 1893.

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Part I.

Introductory: Period of Inclusion.

"When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the Children of Israel." —*Deut.* xxxii : 8.

Chapter I: The Chosen Land.

Chapter II: The Chosen People.

5 10 20 30
SCALE OF MILES
Tyre
Dan
Cæsarea Philippi
Mt. Hermon
8700 ft.
R. Pharpar
Roman Road
Hazor
Waters of Merom
7 ft. above sea
Accho
Chorazin
Capernaum
Bethsaida
Sea of Galilee
682 ft. below sea
BASHAN
Mt. Carmel
Cana
Magdala
Gergesa
Tiberias
Nazareth
Mt. Tabor
1846
Nain
Megiddo
Little Hermon
1815
Jezreel
PLAIN OF ESDRAELON
Gadara
Cæsarea
Mt. Gilboa
Mahanaim
Dothan
Jabesh Gilead
Succoth
SHARON
Tirzah
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GALILEE

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PLAIN OF SHARON
SAMARIA
GILEAD
Mt. Gerizim 2849
Joppa
Shiloh
Br. Cherith
Mt. Gilead 2739
Ramoth Gilead
Rabbath Ammon
Roman Road
R. Jabbok
Bethel
Ai
Beth-horon
Ekron
Aijalon
Gibeon
Michmash
Jericho
V. of Soreh
Mizpeh 2939
Mt. of Olives 2693
Ashdod
Bethshemesh
JERUSALEM
Heshbon
Mt. Nebo 2343
Askelon
Gath
V. of Elah
Adullam
Bethlehem
JUDÆA
DEAD SEA
1292 ft. below sea
Callirhoe Hot Springs
Machærus
MOAB
Gaza
Hebron 3040
Ziph
Engedi
Bezer
R. Arnon
Beersheba
Ar. of Moab (Rabbath)
Kir

Chapter I.

THE CHOSEN LAND.

Strictly speaking, the preparation of the world for the coming of Christ dates from the beginning. Christ is the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." But the formal preparation of the world for redemption, and of redemption for the world begins with the call of Abraham.[1] In that call there are three great coincident events—the organization of the Church of God, the founding of the Jewish Nation and the occupation of the Promised Land. In the design of the Almighty it was necessary to preserve the Church within the limitations of the nation, and to preserve that nation by its sequestration in a suitable land. Had it been his desire simply to communicate to some single man, and to his descendants, a knowledge of the truth, this would not have been necessary. Abraham might have been chosen, instructed and invested with a certain heritage of faith, while he and his posterity were still permitted to remain at his old home in Chaldæa. But in the design of God to extend the knowledge of the Messiah, and of the way of salvation to the whole world, it became necessary to prepare a chosen nation and to locate them in a chosen land. Abraham was not bidden to depart from Chaldæa simply because of its heathenism; for the iniquities of the Canaanites, among whom he was sent, were even more abominable

(1) So *Schaff*—Church History, § 8; and others.

than those of the more cultivated people of Chaldæa, out of which he had been called. But Chaldæa was an altogether unsuitable land for a nation charged with such a mission to the world; nor could there have been found in the countries immediately adjacent, nor in fact in any land except that to which the steps of Abraham were directed, a proper place for the development of such a nation as the Israelites were to become. We therefore read that the "Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house unto a land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation * * * and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed."[2] We shall discover as we proceed that in the choice of this people and in the choice of their land the Almighty had at that early time anticipated the whole course of history, and inaugurated a plan which it was never necessary subsequently to modify.

"So Abram departed as the Lord had spoken unto him;" and about 2000 years, B. C., entered the Land of Canaan. At that period the nations of the earth were just emerging from the darkness of their mythological night, and almost at this exact point, the authentic history of the world begins. There are no records remaining of any of the nations which existed prior to this time, except those of Chaldæa, out of which Abraham was called, and of Egypt, in which for a season he sojourned; and the records of these countries are brief, and in a state of unintelligible confusion. This fact will bear repetition and

[2] Gen. xii: 1–3.

emphasis—that the call of Abraham and his settlement in Canaan are coincident with the beginning of authentic history.

LOCATION OF THE LAND.

The land of Canaan, which was to be the home of Abraham and his descendants, is located about midway between Chaldæa and Egypt. In comparison with other countries which have exercised any considerable influence upon the world, its size is exceedingly small. From north to south it measures about 150 miles; while the average breadth from east to west, including that portion east of the Jordan which was settled by the Israelites, is about 60 miles. Its area corresponds approximately to that of Wales or Massachusetts. But its very insignificance served the purpose of God. This purpose was two-fold: first, to preserve the identity of his people by a careful seclusion, especially from those great empires whose acquaintance would have been a means of moral corruption; second, to furnish them a central point of influence, from which their principles and hopes might be easily and naturally diffused.

THE SECLUSION OF THE LAND.

The seclusion of the people was secured by certain physical peculiarities of the land which have no parallel elsewhere on earth. They were separated from the great Oriental monarchies on the east by the desert, and by the vast fissure of the Jordan Valley. They were separated from the empire of Egypt upon the south by that "great and terrible wilderness" which lay between the Valley of the Nile and Southern

Palestine. They were separated from the nations that should arise in the west by the Mediterranean Sea; and from those upon the north by the mountains of Northern Galilee.

We shall note some of the particulars of these physical features, beginning with the Valley of the Jordan.

THE JORDAN VALLEY.

The meaning of the word is "The Descender," implying in the original the rapidity of its current. This is the name uniformly applied to it in the Scriptures. While other streams may bear the prefix "brook" or "river," this one is always called simply "The Jordan."

Its total length in a direct line is only 104 miles. It is thus about one-half the length of the River Thames in England, and less that one-half the length of the Hudson River. It issues from a cave near the site of Cæsarea Philippi, and after flowing about five miles, unites with a second stream descending from Mount Hermon. Its source is about 1000 feet above the Mediterranean. Its mouth, where it enters the Dead Sea, is 1292 feet below the Mediterranean, thus giving to the river a total fall of about 2300 feet.

The fall of the river when first leaving the Lake of Galilee is 40 feet to the mile, and in the next 60 miles the fall is 610 feet. With such a current it becomes virtually impassable, except at a small number of fords. The Arabs of the present day enumerate some forty of these, but they are mostly passable only in the summer. The well-known fords are four in number: the first two just below the Sea of Galilee, now marked by remains of Roman bridges; the third at the con-

fluence of the Jabbok; and the fourth opposite Jericho. During the larger part of the year the stream is a torrent confined in a narrow channel between precipitous banks; tortuous, treacherous, and hidden by a dense jungle; this jungle, and the terrace on which it grows, extending the entire length of the stream.[4] It is thus described by a modern traveler:

"A ride of three-quarters of an hour brings us on a desolate expanse of gray salt mud to the mouth of the Jordan. In dry weather the gray mud is encrusted with salt and gypsum and occasional layers of sulphur and oxide of iron. The river itself lies completely out of sight. Never, except from some commanding height, can a glimpse be caught of the silvery bead which marks its course, until within two or three miles of its end when its forest fringe ceases; but its course can everywhere be traced by the deep green ribbon of foliage just peering above the upper banks, the tops of the trees which mark its border. All along this lower plain there are three sets of terrace banks. The old bed of the river, or rather the upper end of the lake where the mud deposits were laid against the slopes of the enclosing mountains, was about sixteen miles wide. This is the plain on which Jericho and Gilgal stood. Then we have the higher plain, which even now on rare occasions is flooded. This is covered with shrubs and scant herbage. Close to the river's bank we descend fifty-five feet into a dense thicket of tamarisk, silver poplar, willows, terebinth, and many other trees strange to European eyes, with a dense and impenetrable undergrowth of reeds, and all sorts of acquatic brushwood. It is perforated in all directions by the runs of wild boars, which literally swarm here; while the branches are vocal with myriads of birds. It is a startling contrast suddenly to descend into this narrow belt. Beneath this shade the Jordan, generally not above fifty yards wide, hurries on, in its tortuous but rapid course, muddy and dark, dashing from side to side, and forming curling eddies at each sharp turn, generally most difficult to stem and in most places too deep to ford, having generally ten feet of water. It is, however, easy enough for an expert swimmer to get across

(4) *Sinai and Palestine;* Stanley, p. 290.

by choosing a spot just above one of these sharp turns, and steering himself with the stream until he strikes the opposite bank." (5)

It must be remembered in this connection that the Jordan of to-day is scarcely the Jordan of former ages. The destruction of the forests in Palestine has to some extent altered the character of the stream, giving to it a more unequal flow of water; but it appears that even as it is to-day, it would offer a serious obstacle to an invading army, or a passing caravan, considering that even in our times, he must be an "expert swimmer" who ventures to cross it. During the time of the Israelitish occupancy it was absolutely impassable at certain seasons of the year. Even the fords of Jericho, where travelers were accustomed to cross, could not be attempted. Such was the condition of the stream when the Israelites under Joshua attempted its passage. "Jordan overfloweth all its banks at the time of harvest;" (6) and its waters were consequently miraculously divided, as those of the Red Sea had been before.

But the current of the Jordan is only a single item in the protective character of the western border. The eastern cliffs are very steep and rent by gullies of appalling depth. On the western side, towards the land of Israel, they are not so precipitous, but rise to greater heights; so that the Mount of Olives, which is 2700 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea, is about 4000 feet above the Jordan at Jericho. It is apparent, then, that the traveler who went from Jerusalem to Jericho, and "fell among thieves," is aptly

(5) Canon Tristam in *Picturesque Palestine*, Vol. I, p. 164.
(6) Joshua iii: 15.

described by the Saviour in his parable as "going down" from the former to the latter place.

The distance from Jericho to Bethany is only fifteen miles, so that the average ascent is 266 feet to the mile. In order to apprehend the extreme severity of such a grade it may be borne in mind that the average grade of the Simplon Pass, the colossal masterpiece of the first Napoleon, connecting Geneva and Milan, is only 190 feet to the mile.

Mr. Edward L. Wilson, the distinguished photographer and *litterateur*, whose lantern slides of three continents have been exhibited to admiring audiences the world over, thus describes his own journey over this road:

"The climb from Jericho to Bethany is one of the most exasperating in Judea. There are a number of routes, but if any one is chosen sorrow is sure to follow the preference. After climbing say five hundred feet, turning, one may gain an appreciation of the true depression of the site of Jericho and of the Dead Sea. Now, the path runs up rocky defiles amid chalk hills, through stony valleys, and over blighted soil, up, up in the sun, until the tops of two giddy fragments of masonry are seen. These are in Bethany and form part of what is called the house of Martha and Mary." (7)

The country was thus furnished by the Jordan with a wall and a fosse which were ordinarily impassable. But still beyond the Jordan lay that extension of the African desert which contributed still further to the separation of the land from the nations on the East. Around this desert Abraham himself traveled upon his way to the promised land, going far to the North, following the Euphrates for 600 miles; and around this

(7) *Century Magazine*, April, 1888.

desert even Alexander the Great himself, a man who did not suffer himself to be deflected by ordinary obstacles, was obliged to march after the subjugation of Egypt on his way to the fatherland of Abraham.

THE DESERT.

Passing now to the south the peculiarity of the desert between Palestine and Egypt, and its influence as a factor in the seclusion of Israel, cannot be better described than in quoting from Dean Stanley an account of his own experience while crossing it. He says:

"The day after leaving Ayoun-Mousa was at first within sight of the blue channel of the Red Sea, but soon Red Sea and all were lost in a sand-storm which lasted the whole day. Imagine all distant objects entirely lost to view. The sheets of sand fleeting along the surface of the desert like streams of water, the whole air filled, though invisible, with a tempest of sand driving in your face like sleet. Imagine the caravan toiling against this, the Bedouins each with his shawl thrown completely over his head, half of the riders sitting backwards, the camels meanwhile thus virtually left without guidance, though from time to time throwing their long necks sideways to avoid the blast, yet moving straight onward with a beneficent sense of duty truly edifying to behold. I had thought that with the Nile our troubles of wind were over, but (another analogy for the ships of the desert) the great saddlebags act like sails to the camels, and therefore with a contrary wind are serious impediments to their progress. Through this tempest, this roaring and driving tempest, which sometimes make me think that this must be the real meaning of a 'howling wilderness,' we rode on the whole day."

He also adds the following foot-note:

"I have retained this account of the sand-storm chiefly because it seems to be a phenomenon peculiar to this special region. Van Egmont, Niebuhr and Miss Martineau all noticed

it; and it was just as violent at the passage of a friend in 1841 and again of another two months after ours in 1853."(8)

Such was that "Great and terrible wilderness." "Were I a painter," says Ebers, "and could I illustrate Dante's Inferno, I would have pitched my camp stool here and have filled my sketch-book, for there could never be wanting to the limner of the dark abyss of the pit, landscape, savage, terrible, immeasurably sad, unutterably wild, unapproachably grand and awful."

THE SEA-COAST.

Passing to the west we observe the sharp contrast between the coasts of Palestine and those of the neighboring countries. The shores of the Land of Israel have no indentations, no large rivers, and no deep havens, such as in ancient times, without the improvements of subsequent invention, were even more necessary than now for the protection of shipping. The entire extent of their sea-coast is unbroken except by the Bay of Acre, which furnished the only harbor. It was a very poor one, however, because so shallow; the only anchorage being on its extreme south, under the lee of Carmel.(9) The other landing-places, such as Joppa and Cæsarea, were in no sense harbors, but the most exposed and open roadsteads. Palestine could not be successfully invaded, then, from the west, either by conquering enemies or inquisitive friends.

THE MOUNTAINS.

On the northern frontier the double ranges of Lebanon formed two important ramparts; the

(8) *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 68.
(9) *Kitto's Cyclopædia*; "Accho."

gate between, indeed, was open, but it was easily guarded.

These were the natural fortifications of that land, so aptly described by Isaiah in his song of the vineyard: "He fenced it and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it." And in the succeeding warning, "I will take away the hedge thereof and it shall be eaten up, and break down the wall thereof and it shall be trodden down."[10] Or in the parable of the Saviour, "A certain man planted a vineyard and set a hedge about it."[11]

HIGHWAYS.

The land thus fortified could not be easily traversed. Those highways from nation to nation which passed through it were built with difficulty, and generally avoided the interior. The location of the Roman roads, which must have followed, in the main at least, former routes of travel, are well known.[12] From Egypt the road to the north passes through Gaza and follows along the sea-coast. This would seem to be the most natural and easy route; yet the plain along the Mediterranean is in Northern Galilee hardly a mile broad upon the average, and between the cliff and the sea there is at times barely room for a narrow road, while in some places, indeed, a passage has had to be cut out in the rock. The main road from west to east begins in the Bay of Acre, passes up the plain of Esdrælon to a point near the ancient Jezreel, then over the mountains north of Gilboa to the Jordan, follows

[10] Is. v: 2, 5.
[11] Mark xii: 1.
[12] See Map.

up the Valley of the Jordan for about five miles, and then strikes off toward the east. The road from Egypt to the north and east passes through Petra southeast of the Dead Sea, thence through Heshbon and Rabbath-Ammon, avoiding Judea altogether. These were the three principal routes of travel, and the roads in the interior were taken only by those whose objective point was one of the towns of Israel.[13] It was due to these peculiar physical features of the land that the people of Israel experienced that profound quiet which was substantially unbroken for centuries. It is true that there were wars between the Israelites (or certain tribes of them) and the original possessors of the land which had not been driven out; and that certain sections were overrun for brief periods by their predatory hostile neighbors on the east and south. But these were matters of little consequence as affecting the general state of quiet and security which they enjoyed.

In the meantime, in the period which elapsed between the entrance of the Israelites upon their possession and the death of Solomon, the foundations of the well-known nations of antiquity were laid. But while they were still in their traditionary age, the people of Israel, in their sequestered land, had attained the very summit of their national glory, perfected their political system, erected their glorious temple to Jehovah, and were established in those elements of spiritual power which were to be the source of all beneficent influences.

(13) *History of the Romans under the Empire;* Merivale, ch. xxix.

CLIMATE AND RESOURCES.

A people thus kept to themselves must necessarily find in their own country, small though it be, everything essential to their well-being; and the land of Canaan is no more remarkable in those unusual physical features which shut it out from other lands, than in those equally remarkable climatic features by which its people were enabled to shut themselves in to themselves—the fertility of its soil, its mineral wealth, and its rich and varied vegetation.

At the time of Abraham's entrance it must have presented a very fair and lovely appearance to the eyes of the pilgrims who had been accustomed to the bare and monotonous plains of Mesopotamia. At that day there were but two towns of any importance east of the Jordan, Ramoth Gilead and Kir Moab. A dense population cultivated the tropical valley of the Jordan and the plain of the Dead Sea, but beyond this to the west, until the Phœnician settlements upon the coast were reached, there were but few colonists. Palestine proper contained but two respectable cities, Shechem and Hebron. These and a few villages comprised the whole settled population. The hillsides had not yet been terraced and very few spots upon the plains had been, as yet, disturbed by the plow. The scattered timber lining the water-courses or dotting the mountains in irregular clusters, gave to the landscape the appearance of a park, and its whole aspect fulfilled its description as a "Land of Promise."

The pastoral patriarch could lead his flocks where he would, so long as he refrained from the only breach

of early international law—an attempt to seize the wells of other tribes.[14]

The population greatly increased between the time of Abraham and that of Joshua, but the character of the country was not altered. Moses described it to the people he was leading thither in these words:

"The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey, a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness; thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayst dig brass." [15]

And again:

"The land whither ye go to possess it is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven, a land which the Lord, thy God, careth for. The eyes of the Lord, thy God, are always upon it from the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the year." [16]

COMPARED WITH EGYPT.

The people to whom these words were spoken would, in their imagination, compare the land which was thus described with the wilderness through which they had passed; and more particularly, with the land of Egypt, out of which they had come. They would remember that the land of Egypt, where they and their fathers had been dwelling, was habitable only in the delta of the Nile, and in the narrow strip of land upon its borders, which it was possible to irrigate. They would remember also that the productions of the land of Egypt were for these

(14) Canon Tristam in the *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, No. 82.
(15) Deut. viii:7–9. (16) Deut. xi:11, 12.

reasons limited; and they would look forward to the land which had been promised to them with inexpressible longing and delight. They were not to be disappointed. The land as it is now seen by travelers is scarcely the land into which the Israelites entered and where they continued to dwell. It has been greatly modified by neglect and waste on the part of its inhabitants and governors. Its forests have been cut down. The surface soil, where it was formerly sustained by terraces, has been washed by the rain into the valleys and carried out to the seas. The rock-hewn cisterns in which, during the rainy seasons, they were accustomed to store an abundance of water, are destroyed or fallen into decay. The network of water pipes for irrigation are now only faintly traced in the ruins that remain. In some few favored spots may still be seen the remains of those works originally built by the predecessors of the Israelites, and into the enjoyment of which they entered, an illustration of which appears in the remarkable cultivation still surviving in the terraces of Mount Lebanon.

Dr. George E. Post, of Beirut, an eminent authority upon this subject, declares that Syria and Palestine are suffering in common with all the East from the denudation of the forests and the consequent diminution in the rainfall, and the irregularity of its advent; although at the present time increasing cultivation and tree planting on Lebanon and in the maritime plains is exercising a favorite influence upon the climate and water supply. Could the heights of Lebanon be again clothed with their forests of cedar, a great change would come over the whole country. The

rains would set in earlier, continue later, come more mildly, and be less frequently accompanied with their present destructive floods.[17]

In the days of Israelitish occupation, however, there were abundant springs on the very summits of the highlands, some of which still flow at Hebron, Nablous and in other places. A few are yet found in the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem, while more than forty may be counted within a radius of twenty miles. The mountains of Gilead are also rich in fountains, supplying several perennial streams.

These fountains indicate the former condition of the country. There were two rainy seasons. The "early rain," commencing about the first of November, and the "latter rain," in April. The "early rain" was the more abundant, and fell during four months. The seasons, in consequence, were characterized by remarkable regularity. Famine was infrequent,[18] and we hear of no very extended suffering in consequence thereof until the reign of Ahab.

Up to the time of Christ and the "beginning of sorrows" under the Romans, the land continued as it had been, and was capable of sustaining a vast population; though

> "Now all is changed—all save the changeless things;
> The mountains, and the waters, and the sky—
> These, as He saw them, have their glory yet."
> * * * "Dead lie His once fair fields;
> Barren the fallows where His sower sowed;
> None reaps the silver harvests of His sea;
> None in the wheat-row roots the ill tares out.

(17) *Journal Victoria Institute*, No. 80.
(18) See Ruth i: 1, and 2 Sam. xxi: 1.

The hungry land gasps empty in the glare;
The vulture's self goes famished; the wolf prowls
Fasting, amid the broken stones which built
The cities of His sojourn." * * *
* * * "The ways have shrunk
Into a camel-path; the centuries
With flood, and blast, have torn the terrace bare
Where the fox littered in the grapes."(19)

CLIMATIC ZONES.

The land, though so small, has four distinct climatic zones. The extensive maritime plain and the Valley of the Jordan give rise to important contrasts. From its proximity to the sea the former region is much warmer than the highlands. The mean annual temperature is 70 degrees Fahrenheit. The harvest ripens two weeks earlier than among the mountains. Citrons and oranges flourish. The second zone consists of the highlands. The average temperature of Jerusalem, which may be taken as a fair illustration, is 62 degrees. In this climate the grape, the fig, and the olive thrive. The third zone is that of the Jordan Valley, which is tropical. It concentrates the full radiance of the sun, rarely mitigated by any cloud, though chilled at times by the north wind. It is parched by the south wind from the desert, and sheltered from the moist sea breezes of the west. Here the palm-tree grows in great perfection. Jericho, the "City of Palm Trees," was considered by Mark Antony a gift worthy to be bestowed upon Cleopatra. The fourth zone consists of the elevated region east of the Jordan, with an extreme climate, the temperature rising during the day to 80 degrees, and sometimes falling during the

(19) *The Light of the World*, Edwin Arnold.

night below the freezing point. But there is a large precipitation, rendering the country desirable for grazing purposes.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTS.

A land with such a varied climate could, of course, be made to produce every plant that is useful to man. The oak, the pine, the walnut, the maple, the alder, the poplar, the willow and the ash grow luxuriantly on the heights of Northern Galilee. Here the traveler from the more temperate lands finds himself in the midst of the vegetation of his own country. He sees the apple, the pear and the plum; wheat, barley, peas, potatoes, cabbage, carrots and lettuce. But in other sections of Palestine the traveler from more southern countries is no less at home. He will recognize the well-known forms of the oleander, the willow, the sycamore, the date palm, the pistachio, and the tall tropical grasses and reeds. He may eat such fruits as the date, pomegranate, the orange, the banana, the almond. His eyes may be gladdened with the sight of fields of cotton, millet, rice, sugar-cane, indigo, tobacco, and other southern crops. Thus this little land of Palestine reproduces climates and zones which in other countries are separated by hundreds of miles.[20]

Dr. Post, of Beirut, in an address recently made before the Victoria Institute, claims that no other country in the world yields so large a number of food articles as Palestine. He gives a summary as follows:

"The table-lands of Palestine, east and west of the Jordan, are about 2500 feet above the Mediterranean. The climate is

(20) *Life of Christ;* Geikie, ch. ii,

considerably cooler than that of the semi-tropical maritime plains, and the rainfall in winter is abundant. * * * In closing, it may not be amiss to allude to the range and number of plants cultivated with ease in the open air of Syria and Palestine.

"*Nigella arvensis*, *L.*, is raised from the black seeds which are known as the el-Habbat-es-sanda (the black seed), or Habbat el-Barakat (the seed of blessing). These seeds are sprinkled over the surface of the flat loaves of bread. They are the *fitches* of Isaiah xxviii,25-27. The opium poppy, *Papaver somniferm*, *L.*, is common in cultivation, though opium is not made in Syria. The capsules are used in making sedative effusions.

"Of *Crucifers* we have black and white mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, turnips, cresses and radishes.

"Flax, rue, sorrel and cactus, *Ficus Indica* grow wild.

"The Vine, with an endless variety of fruits, is universal, even to the height of 6000 feet above the sea.

"There are maple, tamarisk, terebinth, Schœmus, Pride of India, and jujube trees.

"The lemon, orange and citron are cultivated everywhere along the coast, from Tripoli southward.

"Of *Leguminosæ* the number of cultivated plants is very large—lupine, beans, horse-beans, peas, lentiles, *Cicer arietinum*, mash (a species of *Phaseolus*), carob-trees, acacia (the shittim of Scripture), and the locust; the latter introduced.

"Of Rosaceous plants, the strawberry, blackberry, peach, plum, almond, apricot, nectarine, apple, quince, medlar and Photinia Japonica, all flourish. Syria is pre-eminently a rose country, most cultivated varieties attaining an excellent development.

"Of *Grossulaceæ* there are none which succeed well in this land, although gooseberries and currants have been cultivated.

"The pomegranate is indigenous in the north, and the myrtle everywhere.

"Eucalypti flourish in marshy ground.

"Watermelons, musk-melons, squash, pumpkins and cucumbers all reach a fine development.

"Of *Umbelliferæ*, the coriander, dill, fennel, caraway, anise, celery, parsley, parsnip and carrot either grow wild or flourish under cultivation.

"Valerian grows wild, as also carthamus, chiccory and lettuce of several kinds, and artichokes are cultivated.

"Of Solanaceous plants the potato, tobacco, tomato and egg-plant are cultivated, and henbane and nightshade grow wild.

"The sesame forms a considerable part of the produce of the plains.

"The olive flourishes everywhere, and yields a considerable part of the wealth of the country.

"Figs, sycamores, mulberries, hemp and the ramie (Chinese silk) plant, all flourish.

"The plane tree, the walnut, the edible pine and a considerable variety of oaks, the hornbeam and the beech, are abundant, the latter two especially in Northern Syria. The castor-oil plant is almost universal.

"Of monocotyledons, the palm, the banana, many liliaceous flowers, the *Colocasia antiquorum* (which is cultivated in marshy ground), many kinds of iris, tulip and crocus flourish in appropriate situations.

"Grass is not cultivated for hay, except on the farm of the Damascus Road Company, at Sheturah, in Cœle-Syria. Nevertheless, the success of this company, which makes the hay there raised a considerable part of the food of its large number of horses and mules, warrants the belief that hay could be made one of the staples of Syria.

"Maize, wheat, barley, sorghum and sugar-cane are staples. The papyrus is now confined to the Huleh, and perhaps the marshes of the Kishon. *Arundo Donax* and *Saccharum Ægyptiacum*, the gigantic grasses of the country, are put to numerous uses. They are everywhere cultivated as hedge plants.

"The variety of the flora of Syria and Palestine corresponds with the central situation and diversity of soil, climate and surface, and the extreme inequality of the meteorological conditions of its different though not distant regions. It will not escape the thoughtful observer of these facts, that the microcosm selected for the development of the chosen people and the revelation of the Word, was thus eminently suited to be the physical basis of the world-religion."

It is apparent, then, so far as the vegetable resources of the land are concerned, that however great the

seclusion of the Israelites may have been, they were not lacking in the necessaries or even in the comforts of life. The size and flavor of the grapes of Palestine have been proverbial, ever since the return of the spies to Moses. Within a comparatively recent period the same scene has been enacted as then astonished the half-fed wanderers of the desert—a single cluster requiring two carriers for its transportation.[21] Nor must we forget, in the enumeration of their articles of food, the splendid resources of the Lake of Galilee, of which the traveler even at the present day speaks in most extravagant terms, when describing the multitude and the quality of its fish.

MINERALS.

Nor was the land lacking in mineral resources. It was correctly described by Moses in the passage already quoted as a "land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayst dig brass." The abundance of iron in the mountains of Northern Palestine is still remarked by modern travelers, and copper is also found. Although the mines which were formerly worked have been well nigh exhausted, yet, doubtless, there was sufficient of all mineral wealth for the purposes of the Israelites. Moses himself made a careful distinction in the words above, between the abundance of the iron and the comparative scarcity of the brass. Nor is this all. The Almighty had provided the land with those remarkable health-giving properties and resources which the citizens of other countries are often obliged to take long journeys to

[21] See *Kitto's Enc.*, Art. "Vine." Robinson, Vol I. p. 81.

find. The wearied, the overworked and the invalided could at any time in the shortest journey accomplish a total change of climatic conditions; and there are many instances given of their doing so. There were also a variety of medicinal springs, such as the sulphur springs upon the western bank of the Dead Sea, and the intermittent spring at the Pool of Bethesda, in Jerusalem itself. The Lord had, indeed, provided for these people a "good land," furnished with everything that was requisite to their life and happiness.

POPULATION.

Such a land was capable of sustaining an immense population. At certain periods in its history its citizens must have numbered at least some three million souls. Although it is desolate and unlovely in its present condition—its towns in ruins, its fields blighted and withered, its squalid villages the homes of beggared Arabs—yet there was a time when it flowed with milk and honey, tenanted by a secure, a happy and a prosperous people; a land of flowers and birds and pastures and cattle; a land of delightful repose. It is particularly beautiful and inviting even to-day when the character of its inhabitants is forgotten.

SPECIAL SECTIONS.

That the reader may form some conception of the loveliness of this land when, in its virgin beauty, it was offered to the Israelites for their possession, a few quotations may be added from the words of certain modern travelers, descriptive respective of its Northern, its Central and its Southern portions.

DECAPOLIS.

Mr. Edward L. Wilson, who has been already quoted, says:

"The natural scenery of Perea is lovely. There are forests of old oak trees, among whose great moss covered branches birds of tropic beauty dart in and out; gardens, olive groves, vineyards and fertile meadows are numerous; all dipped toward the Jordan and the western sun. Sometimes the buildings of the villages are overrun with climbing vines. Wild plants and shrubs grow according to their own sweet will. In the Spring, one can count, from almost any elevation, thousands of the black tents of the Arabs, who, from North, South and East, herd their flocks here; and as warm weather approaches, gradually work their way up the mountain inclines. Nineteen hundred years ago Decapolis was not such a pastural land as it is now. The remains of perhaps as many as twenty cities of the past may be seen from the higher ruins of any one of them; their massive walls, their noble arches, their forest of columns still stand, because the wanderer of the country prefers his tent to a dwelling-place among these ruins, and the vandal seldom comes in this direction." (22)

THE PLAIN OF JEZREEL.

The same writer says:

"This lovely expanse is the Plain of Jezreel, or in softer Greek, the Plain of Esdrælon. Our observations begin at Jenin. It is a typical town of Northern Palestine, with its fruit gardens, its lovely water supply, and its groves of palm. There, too, is the inevitable broad dome of the Mosque; and, overreaching all in height, the slender minaret, whence the muezzin cry may be heard from Samaria to Galilee. The views from this minaret are worth a journey to Palestine to see. The backward look towards Shechem and Samaria affords a new view of Ebal and Gerizim, and not only covers a splendid country under a high state of cultivation, dotted with olive groves, as fine as any south of Damascus, but embraces a region full of thrilling history. In some places the long lines of the

(22) *Century Magazine*, April, 1888.

THE FOUNTAIN OF JEZREEL.

broken arches of an aqueduct lifted high in the air, remind you of the Roman Campagna. Down in the fields near Samaria, you will see a richly cultivated country. The whole region is hilly. The rocks protrude from the hills on every side, yet every spot of ground from the bases to the summit presents testimony to the thrift of the husbandman. Every valley has its stream, even now. The tiniest of these is made to drive the wheels of some primitive flour-mill. At your feet, beginning as soon as you look beyond the borders of the village, is the lovely plain. The rich carpeting supplied by nature is indescribable. There are no fences between the vast undulating plots of green and gold and pink and gray; but the narrow roads, with soil of red shale, mark out the boundaries for the husbandmen. A silver stream, whose starting point cannot be made out, may be discerned finding its way down from west to east. It is the River Kishon, where Elijah slew the priests of Baal. This view in the spring-time looks like a great garden under the highest state of cultivation. You ride back toward the fountain of Jezreel. It is a beauty spot and a natural wonder. If you have a guide who knows the country, you may ride northward on Mount Gilboa, until you come to the point where the mountain abruptly ends, as though a part of the slope had been cut away, as is often the case in railway construction. Hold your guide's hand while you look over, and you will hear the trickling of water, the splashing of cattle, and the voices of their chattering attendants. They are one hundred feet below you, where is a wide cavern walled by conglomerate rock, from which the waters burst forth with sufficient force to turn a little mill. This is the fountain of Jezreel. The rocky sides and the top of the cavern are lined with ferns, and water plants abound. The water flows perennially. After emerging from its source the stream widens into a small lake, and feeds one of the winding tributaries which contribute to the waters of the Jordan. The husbandmen of the Plain of Jezreel bring their cattle and their flocks here to drink, but they guard them well, for the visits of the invader are still frequent." (23)

SHECHEM.

Another traveler speaks in the following language

(23) *Century Magazine*, October, 1889.

of the appearance of the country in the vicinity of the vale of Shechem:

"There is certainly no spot throughout the Holy Land which can rival this in beauty. All travelers, ancient and modern, speak in glowing terms of the peculiar loveliness of this valley, and many are the improvised songs which are sung in its praise in the present day, in the pleasant gardens of Nablous, by the Moslem successors of the Shechemites, who quote their prophet Mahomet himself as an author for saying that it is 'the place beloved by Allah above all other places, and that his blessing rests upon it continually.' It must have been regarded as an especially favored and hallowed spot in patriarchal times. It was the first halting place of Abraham after he had passed over the Jordan and entered the Land of Canaan, and here his first altar was erected. Here also was the parcel of ground acquired by Jacob, and here was Jacob's well. It is said there are no less than eighty springs of water in and about Nablous, each having its special name. The water is conveyed from these springs to the mosques and other public buildings, and the private houses, and then irrigates the gardens in and around the city. Many of the streets have little channels of clear water running through them. After being thus utilized the streams on the western side of the city are allowed to unite and form a stream, which turns several mills, and flows towards the Mediterranean. Those on the eastern side irrigate the gardens east of the town, and then with a rather abrupt fall, flow towards the River Jordan." (24)

Mr. Wilson also adds his testimony:

"The location of Shechem is delightful. The whole valley running east and west is alive with gushing cascades and bounding streams, luxuriant olive groves and fig orchards, interspersed with fruits of various kinds, are dotted hither and thither everywhere." (25)

HEBRON.

Passing on to the south, Mr. Wilson thus describes the country in the neighborhood of Hebron:

"Nothing could be more lovely than the region reached a

(24) Miss M. E. Rogers in *Picturesque Palestine*, I.

(25) *Century Magazine*, December, 1888.

day's journey north from Petra, when in the neighborhood of the brook Eshcol the wide valleys are clothed with verdure, spotted with daisies, buttercups, dandelions, poppies white and red, and many other flowers. Large flocks were there attended by their shepherds. The fellahin were at work, and the women, tall and erect, were everywhere carrying water in jars upon their heads. The fields were protected from the torrents by stone walls, and olive groves and vineyards abounded. It was a grateful scene. Each vineyard of Eshcol was protected by a high stone wall. In every one was a low stone structure, which served as the house of the attendant. Nestled down in the valley below lies Hebron, in the Plain of Mamre. To one coming up from a two months' wandering in the wilds of a scorched desert, this first sight of holy land is an enchanting one. The hills and valleys alike are clothed with olive groves, orange trees and vineyards, figs, mulberries, almonds, pomegranates, and vegetables like our own; and melons and cucumbers also abound. Streams of water run hither and thither, and murmur music which gladdens the heart of the weary traveler. It is no wonder that Caleb's heart also turned back to this region, after his visit to it as a spy, regardless of the threatening appearance of the children of Anak. Surely Joshua was just when he blest him and gave unto Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, Hebron for an inheritance." (26)

ACCESSIBILITY.

But if the land of the chosen people were only a secluded land it could never have fulfilled the design of the Almighty in its selection. A secluded land might have been found upon some distant continent; or in one of the islands of the sea. But the design of God included not only the separation of his people from the other nations of the world, but also their permanent influence over them. For this reason he chose a land which, while it might not be easily invaded or visited, should yet be as close to the great

(26) See 20.

highways of travel as to be brought into easy communication with other nations whenever desired.[27] Attention has already been directed to the location of the Roman roads, following, as they did, the ancient highways. Over these roads have passed from the earliest times the great tides of humanity; and although ordinarily the traveler may not have been diverted from his course in order to visit the cities of Israel, yet he could not fail to come in contact with such Israelites as dwelt upon the borders of the land, and learn from them of the character of the national faith and the national aspirations. It occupied the same relative position at the call of Abraham that it did when the Messiah appeared, and which indeed it still maintains. It must be remembered, however, that our own continent was unknown for fifteen hundred years following the coming of Christ, and for thirty-five hundred following the call of Abraham. Until the discovery of America the position of Palestine was the pivotal one among the nations of the earth. It seemed, indeed, to the nations of antiquity, and particularly to the people who occupied it, to be the very center of the earth, justifying the foolish superstition that still obtains at Jerusalem—the very stone being shown to modern travelers which marks the exact middle point. The little land is situated at the junction of three continents. Its later civilization has partaken in a measure of the character of the civilization of each. It looked eastward toward the great empires and religions of the Orient. It looked westward over the Mediterranean to the promise of

[27] Particularly well stated in Conybeare & Howson, Vol. I., ch. I.

European civilization. It looked southward upon the life and customs of Egypt, and the darkness beyond. The Wise Men who came from the East to Jerusalem at the birth of the Saviour, the Greeks from the West who inquired for him at the feast, and the Ethiopian from the South who was found returning from Jerusalem after his ascension, are each a type of the peculiar radiation of influence which the central position of the chosen land afforded. Its special fitness to be a center was apparent at the first, nor did it cease until the whole scheme of revelation and redemption had been completed. Vast migrations had passed and repassed its borders. The Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman in turn have marched along its coasts toward Egypt, and more than once the Egyptians have countermarched over the same route. Certain very significant illustrations of the central influence of this country, by reason of its geographical location, appear even in our own day. The choice of Syria as a sort of eastern headquarters of missionary operations may be cited as an instance; and the English occupation of Cyprus, in lieu of a foothold upon the main land. This secluded land is therefore, notwithstanding its seclusion, the most accessible of all the lands of the ancient world, the true "Middle Kingdom," bearing the same relation to the countries round about it, and to the busy avenues of commerce and of war, that the "close" of an English cathedral or university, in the midst of a populous city, bears to its crowded streets and marts.

Such, then, was the land in which the chosen people were to be trained and developed until their religious

life should become complete; and such was the land from which the blessings of redemption were to be distributed through the earth.

Chapter II.

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE.

In the execution of the purpose of God it became necessary to prepare a people for the prepared land. The choice of this people was not, as is too commonly supposed, an arbitrary one. They were selected with reference to certain qualities which they possessed and certain advantages which they had enjoyed, fitting them to become the leaders of the world in the extension of the divine redemption. There had been due preparation for their advent, just as there subsequently was for the advent of the Redeemer. The providential history of the world leads up to Abraham; just as it leads up to the Seed of Abraham, the Saviour. The period which leads up to Abraham may be called

THE ERA OF INCLUSION.

It is characterized by the inclusion of the people of God among the nations, as the period which follows Abraham is characterized by their seclusion.

In order to justify this seclusion of the Hebrew race it was the design of the Almighty, in the course of his providence, to show that unless the chosen people were set apart by themselves, the knowledge of the truth would have become hopelessly lost, and the redemption of the world indefinitely retarded.

Therefore, after the judgment of the ante-deluvian world and the destruction of its people in the flood,

the Almighty started the whole race anew by the preservation of a single family, to whom he vouchsafed the knowledge of himself. No attempt was then made to separate a single tribe from others. Although Shem, the youngest son of Noah, was selected as the father of the chosen seed, the intercourse of his descendants with those of the other sons of Noah was absolutely unrestricted. The leaven was hid in the meal; the question which was to be answered in the course of history was whether the leaven would permeate the lump or the lump quench the leaven.

Again "men began to multiply on the face of the earth." The judgment of the former age was forgotten; and the lapse into idolatry and immorality was almost as swift as it had been originally. We are taught by the Scriptures that the immediate descendants of Noah plunged at once into sin. Of Shem alone are we positively informed that he acknowledged the Lord as his God. It is presumed that his son, the grandson of Noah, was an idolater; and all the nations which sprang from Noah shared in the same decline. For hundreds of years together there was not so much as a solitary exception. The world had again reached a condition similar to that which obtained just before the flood; and by its persistence in that condition demonstrated its incapacity to conserve truth and righteousness, except under special conditions which the Almighty himself should arrange and impose.

CHALDÆA AND ABRAHAM.

The culminating point in this period was reached when the Chaldæans obtained supremacy over their

neighbors, and the Chaldæan government became the central and sovereign one. Coincident with this centralization of political power in the hands of the Chaldæans there was a culmination in their iniquities. We observe the same state of things existing upon a small scale at the call of Abraham, which we shall hereafter observe at the advent of Christ. "The fullness of time" had come in just the same sense. The world, in its increasing ignorance of God, and its deepening departure from him, was ripe for some distinct divine intervention.

An extended account of the religious condition of Chaldæa at the time of Abraham cannot here be given. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that at the time of Abraham's migration a new dynasty had taken possession of southern Mesopotamia. Of this new dynasty Sargon I. was the founder. His empire was the most extensive which the world had as yet known. Sargon had carried his conquests far to the west; left his image on the rocks of the Mediterranean coast, and even crossed the sea to Cyprus.(1) That the religion of his empire might be in keeping with its political magnificence it was formulated, under his influence, into a complete system.(2) The divinities were arranged in imperial order into a graduated hierarchy, and their respective worship was defined; idolatry was thus dignified, and received a new and powerful impulse. Chaldæa and its subject kingdoms were committed to it. The civilization of the world that

(1) *The Bible and Modern Discoveries;* Harper, p. 4.

(2) See *The Ancient World and Christianity;* De Pressense, ch. ii.
Hours with the Bible; Geike, I., 305.
Ancient Empires of the East; Sayce, pp. 112, 295.

then was, its political power, its social life, and its religious condition, were determined. The gods which, before this time, were like the people, comparatively simple and unobtrusive, were lifted, together with their monarch, to a supreme place and glory. Abraham before his departure was the witness of this sad deterioration. He saw the great army of priests which the increasing demands of idolatry had multiplied. He heard them chant the liturgies which the great mental awakening had created. He was the witness of the early rites of magic and divination—now reduced to a system. Possibly he was a witness also of the awful horror of human sacrifice which was commonly practiced in his own land.[3] Such was the condition which threatened to become universal, when he received his call, and the era of inclusion ended in the signal failure of mankind.

THE ERA OF SECLUSION.

Abraham is now designated to be the founder of a new era, of which the seclusion of the people of God shall be the characteristic feature. He is a citizen of Ur, the capital of Chaldæa. His very name (Abu-ramu) is found on an early Babylonian tablet.[4] He is also a descendant of the blessed Shem, the son of Noah. But this is not all. Though there appears a special fitness in the designation of Abraham, he might have been all that we have represented him to be and yet have been unfit for the peculiar work which was contemplated in the purpose of God. That

[3] *Abraham · The Typical Life of Faith;* Breed, ch. i.
[4] *The Bible and Modern Discoveries;* Harper, p. 4.

purpose looked to the far distant future, and required for its execution a suitable agent. The choice of the Almighty, therefore, had respect to the agent, as it always has. The same discrimination was shown in the choice of Abraham which was afterwards displayed in the choice of Moses and of Paul.

THE CHOSEN RACE.

The race which was to spring from Abraham was to be endowed with those peculiar qualities which should render them fitting agents for the custody and transmission of the truth. We shall direct attention, first, to such qualities as they shared with kindred races; then, to such qualities as distinguished them from others; and then, to the divine addition to their natural endowments.

PERSISTENT VIGOR.

The persistent physical and intellectual vigor of the Hebrew race has been frequently emphasized. The scientific principle as to the persistence of the type and conformity thereto, has never seen such a remarkable illustration. It has been generally remarked even by ethnologists, who view the matter not from a religious standpoint, but from a scientific one. A distinguished lecturer upon ethnology, who is certainly not disposed to credit the Jews with any special qualities because of divine favor, but whose skepticism, on the contrary, evidently embarrasses him in his studies, yet says, in view of their unique national history,

« They left Chaldæa according to their own showing a small family and quitted Egypt a considerable people. From the

earliest recorded times they have been wandering over the earth. When they penetrated into Britain it is impossible to say, but here they are now, unaltered and unalterable. Societies are gotten up for their conversion. Be it so. Nothing can be said against them, but in one hundred years they will not convert one hundred Jews, not even one real Jew. This is my opinion and solemn conviction." (5)

Says another ethnologist:

"Of all the families of Man, the Semitic has preserved the most distinguished and homogeneous mental characteristics. Always, in all its branches, tenacious of the past, conservative, not inclined to change or reform, sensual and strong of passion, yet deeply reverent and religious in temperament, capable of the most sublime acts either of heroism or fanaticism, it was from the first a fit medium for some of the grandest truths and principles which can inspire the human soul. Its very peculiarities adapted it to feel and contain and convey divine inspirations. * * * A peculiar physiological fact about the Jews should be noticed here; that they are able to live and multiply in almost all latitudes. Their increase in Sweden is said to be greater than that of the Christian population. In the towns of Algeria they are, according to Boudin, the only race able to maintain its numbers; and in Cochin China and Aden, the latter one of the hottest places in the world, they succeed in rearing children and in forming permanent communities." (6)

The Jews have demonstrated in their four thousand years of a national existence that they are possessed of a certain vigor which has never been approached in the life of any other people. Although they have been carried into captivity, decimated by their conquerors and scattered abroad over the earth, they exhibit to this day no signs of exhaustion. On the other hand the most competent observers of history agree that within the last century there has appeared something like a rejuvenation of this ancient stock.

(5) *Knox on Race;* Lecture IV.

(6) *Races of the Old World;* Brace, pp. 50 and 243.

The Jew is a Jew everywhere, in his theories, his methods, his pursuits, his faith, and even his external appearance. And the special peculiarity of this physical vigor consists in the fact that the Jewish character, and the persistence of its type, have been especially marked in periods of Jewish decline and dispersion. This is the more remarkable when we remember that in the case of other nations, such as Greece and Rome, the day of their greatest influence was the day of their greatest national prosperity; and that with their political decline, there came also a debasing of their national character and a decay of the national type. But for only seven hundred years out of the three thousand of their entire existence as a people have the Hebrews been a united and independent nation: or, if we count the whole time, from the Exodus to the captivity of Judah, as the period of Hebrew independence, it yet appears that for about three-fourths of their national history the Israelites have been without a country which they could call their own. For the last eighteen hundred years they have been exiled and scattered, the history of their persecutions forming many of the saddest pages in history, and almost every nation in the earth being guilty partners in it; but their sad experiences have not obliterated a single feature peculiar to their character. The phenomenon is absolutely unique.

Still further the uniform testimony of historians and other observers like that of Brace, quoted above, is to the fact that everywhere and always the Jews have been found to exceed the Gentiles, both in fertility and longevity. There has been a constant repetition

of the features which troubled the Egyptians of old. The Hebrews outgrow their oppressors in number. This has always enabled them to react after oppression and to recover lost ground with an amazing rapidity. For example, in the return from Babylon we are told that the immigrants numbered less than fifty thousand, and yet by the time of Christ, notwithstanding their reverses and persecutions, the Jews of Palestine were numbered by millions. At the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus we are told that more than a million were gathered together in that city alone. In that last vain struggle of the nation it showed no signs of impaired vitality, nor had the Romans ever met with a people whom they found so difficult to subjugate. Cast out of their own land, with no universal bond of government and exposed to uncongenial climates, and adverse social influences, and permitted to live, if at all, under hurtful restrictions, the Jewish character is yet preserved intact, and the Jewish physique has suffered no deterioration.[7]

Dr. Schaff in a very fine passage has written:

"Behold the race still lives as tenaciously as ever, unchanged and unchangeable in its national traits—an omnipresent power in Christendom. It still produces in its old age men of commanding influence for good or evil in the commercial, political and literary world. We need only to recall such names as Spinoza, Rothschild, Disraeli, Mendelssohn, Heine, Neander. If we read the accounts of the historians and satirists of imperial Rome about the Jews in their filthy quarter across the Tiber, we are struck with the identity of that people with their descendants in the ghettos of modern Rome, Frankfort and New York. They excited then, as much as they do now, the mingled contempt and wonder of the world."[8]

[7] *The Jews;* Kellogg, ch. i.
[8] *Church History*, § 17.

The design of the Almighty therefore, in selecting them to be his agents in the custody of his truth, is more than justified.

OTHER ABRAHAMIC RACES.

That the Lord's selection of this people was not arbitrary, will even more emphatically appear when we recall the history of the other branches of the same common race. The history of the Ishmaelites displays physical vigor and a persistence of national character second only to that which is displayed in the history of Israel. While the mental peculiarities of Isaac are reproduced in his descendants, those of Ishmael are as distinctly reproduced in his. The Bedouin of the desert and all his Arabian kinsmen manifest to-day the same untamable disposition which occasioned the expulsion of Ishmael from his father's camp. There is scarcely anything in history to parallel the rapidity of the conquests of the Saracens, nor can history furnish, apart from Christianity, illustrations of more remarkable personages than they have produced. The consummate flower of this race is the false prophet, Mahomet; concerning whom a distinguished scholar has written:

"Call him prophet, reformer or imposter as we will, the camel-driver of Mecca, the conqueror of Medina, soars above every other man recorded in the history of the East. Nowhere in the history of the world can we directly trace such mighty effects to the personal agency of a single mortal. He found a barbarous and disunited people. He left a flourishing empire, which actually existed for ages, and which in its effects exists to this day. He put forth a new religion. So have others before and since; but his religion was not destined to influence a single sect or a single nation; it was to stamp the mind and destiny of

the whole Oriental world; to be at once the truest of false religious systems and the deadliest antagonist of the truth itself."[9]

But Mahomet's great work was not one of conquest. His influence abides not in the empire that he founded, but in the book which he wrote. The Christian world is only beginning to understand and appreciate the Koran. The vast majority still hold very much the same opinion with regard to it which Martin Luther once expressed. In his sermon against the Turks he says: "In which law there is nought but sheer human reason, for his law teaches nothing but that which human understanding and reason may well like; wherefore Christ will come upon him with fire and brimstone." But at this time (1529) Martin Luther had never so much as seen a Koran.[10]

According to the unanimous consent of modern scholars the Koran is a wonderful book. Its chief value is derived from its indebtedness to Judaism and the principles which it borrows from the Old Testament; and in consequence, it has had, and is still having, a mighty influence. This wonderful work of one of the descendants of Ishmael rules to-day over the minds of 180,000,000 of people. The old contest between Isaac and Ishmael is continued in our own day. The son of Ishmael is the only stalwart antagonist which the son of Isaac recognizes. The Crescent is the only serious obstacle to the advance of the Cross. Says the author just quoted:[11]

"The religious reformer (Mahomet) has checked the

[9] *History and Conquest of the Saracens;* Freeman, p. 5.
[10] Quoted by Emanuel Deutsch; *Remains*, p. 61.
[11] Freeman, page 59.

advance of Christianity. The political reformer has checked the advance of freedom, and indeed, of organized government in any shape. The moral reformer has set his seal to the fearful evils of polygamy and slavery. Whether Mahomet be personally the Anti-Christ of Scripture, I do not profess to determine; but I do know that his religion, approximating as it does so closely to Christianity without being Christian, eventually appears above all others emphatically anti-Christian."

We are bound to remember, however, that even the Christian world must confess its great indebtedness to the sons of Ishmael. The conquests of the Saracens were the enriching of Europe. The literature, arts, and sciences of the Arabs form the connecting link between the civilizations of ancient and modern times. The culture which they introduced into the countries they conquered has outlasted the conquerors themselves. To them, both directly and indirectly, we owe the revival of learning and philosophy in Western Europe, and the awakening of the spirit of inquiry which rescued Europe from her long lethargy of ignorance and superstition. To them, also, at least indirectly, are due many of the useful arts and practical inventions perfected in more recent times. Let us not forget that even our system of notation is expressed, not in Roman, but in Arabic numerals.

A passing reference may also be made to other descendants of Abraham; in order, still further, to illustrate the vigor of those races of which he was the founder. The Midianites, who were descendants of Abraham by his wife Keturah, were long a menace to Israel. Among them Moses dwelt for a season. After their defeat by Gideon they seem to have become incorporated with the stronger tribes. The

Edomites, descendants of Esau, himself another Ishmael, do not entirely pass out of history until after the death of Christ. From Edom sprang Herod the Great and his royal house; and, in their attempts upon the life of Christ and his apostles, illustrated the ancient feud. Finally the Samaritans, although a mixed race, cherished the memory of their father Abraham, and professed to follow his faith. A remnant of them is still to be found in the neighborhood of ancient Samaria. Surely, this is sufficient to show that the Hebrews did not receive from the Almighty an exclusive amount of vigor, but one which they shared in common with kindred races, whatever may have been the special divine additions.

DISPOSITION.

The Hebrews, however, were distinguished from their kinsmen by their disposition. In selecting his agents the Lord had respect to the amiability and tranquility of the Jewish mind. He chose the gentle Isaac, not the furious Ishmael. The descendants of Isaac have never been great warriors. They never made extensive conquests. Even the dominions of David and Solomon were insignificant in comparison with the great empires of the Old World. More particularly, be it remarked, they never sought to proselyte by force. What an exceedingly sad commentary it would have been upon the history of the chosen people had they reflected at any time the spirit of the Ishmaelite; or raised a rallying cry similar to that of Mahomet and his successors, "The Koran, Tribute, or the Sword!"

But perhaps the most remarkable of those endowments which fitted the Hebrews to be the custodians of the truth, was their possession of a language which was signally distinct from most of those with which it came in contact by its alphabetic form. While the written speech of other nations was cast in some complicated syllabic or hieroglyphic system, the written forms of this language were such as to adapt it to the purpose of God. It was specially suitable to be cut upon stone and used for monumental inscriptions. The tables of the law which Moses received from the Almighty would have suffered greatly in their force and perspicuity, if indeed their meaning could have been expressed, had they been carved in the forms which Egyptians or Assyrians were wont to use.

Ideographic systems, even after they have assumed a somewhat phonetic character or passed into syllabic form, have certain serious defects. The range of expression is limited. They are largely confined to the sensuous and concrete, and more particularly, the same symbol must be employed to denote a variety of objects and of sounds which are somewhat closely allied to each other. Take for example, and as a single illustration from the Egyptian syllabary, the sign for "lapis lazuli." The Egyptian name for this stone is *khesteh*. But the first syllable of this word, used alone, means "to stop," and the second, "pig," so that the sign for lapis lazuli is a man stopping a pig by pulling his tail.

Clearly then such a language was not adapted to the purpose of divine revelation, in which there must

be precision, as well as the opportunity for the coinage of new words wherewith to express new ideas—ideas entirely disassociated from ambiguous symbols. The Almighty, therefore, chose a people in possession of an alphabetic system capable of expressing a wide range of thought, and more especially capable of conveying abstract truth.

At what date this language was reduced to that written form, which preceded its alphabetic form, it is impossible to determine. The date is so remote as to be lost in the mists of antiquity. We only know that when the people from whom the Hebrews sprang first appeared, this language was the common property of all the nations between Assyria and Egypt, with differences only of idiom.

The Phœnician was long supposed to be the oldest language of its class. It can be traced to a date 1000 years, B. C. It was more widely extended than any of the other early languages. The whole ancient world being the vantage ground of Phœnician enterprise, it was naturally disseminated over the widest possible space. The Greek and Roman alphabets were its products. According to tradition, Cadmus, the Phœnician, introduced the art of writing into Greece, giving to it the old alphabet of sixteen letters. But by reason of this very dissemination of the Phœnician language it yielded to foreign influence, became corrupt and lost its distinctive character.[12]

At the present time we are unable to determine the original form of the common language, but the

[12] *Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch*, 304-307; *Enc. Britt.*, Art. "Alphabet."

Hebrew, as we know it, unquestionably approaches very closely to the primitive type. Before Abraham left Chaldæa this language in its early form had been impressed upon the tablets of clay which formed the books in use in that age of the world. Libraries of such books had been collected and by their means astronomy, mathematics, law and government had been studied and reduced to writing.[13]

Recent discoveries in Palestine have shown that long before the Exodus even, Canaan had its libraries, its scribes, its schools and its literary men. The annals of the country were inscribed upon clay in characters of the cuneiform syllabary. Extensive correspondence was carried on between the various Semitic nations speaking the same general tongue. The tablets recently discovered at Tel el Amarna in Egypt comprise the correspondence of various officials scattered throughout Syria and Mesopotamia, dealing with all sorts of governmental matters and abounding in information with regard to many details of civil and social life. The collection cannot be the only one of its kind. Similar libraries must still be lying under the soil, not only in Egypt, but doubtless in Palestine and farther Syria. There is little doubt among archæologists that such libraries still await the spade of the excavator on the sites of such places as Gaza, Kirjath Sepher, and others celebrated in ancient writings for their literary fame.[14]

(13) *Abraham: His Life and Times;* Deane, 8.

(14) Prof. Sayce in the *Victoria*, No. 93; see also the *Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1890. Prof. Sayce announces such a discovery at Tel-el-Hesy (Lachish), dating back to the Amorite days before the Conquest, in the *S. S. Times*, Aug. 27, 1892. Indeed, a letter found at Lachish is—strange to say, the companion of one found at Tel-el-Amarna! the first written by an Egyptian scribe, the second written by his Amorite correspondent!

The interesting discoveries in Northern Arabia have afforded even more valuable information with regard to the state of letters in those early times. They have demonstrated the great antiquity of the Minæan kingdom, and of the spread of its power from the south of Arabia to the frontiers of Egypt and Palestine. It preceded the rise of the Kingdom of Saba, the Sheba of the Old Testament. We have been made acquainted with the names of thirty-three Minæan sovereigns, covering an extended period of time. Their subjects are shown to have been a literary people; but the most astonishing fact which has been discovered with regard to them is that they used an alphabetic system of writing, and their inscriptions are found not only in their southern homes, but also in their colonies in the north. These inscriptions are older than the oldest known inscription in the Phœnician letters. The Phœnician alphabet is probably derived from the Minæan, or at least from one of the Arabian alphabets of which the Minæan was the mother.

These discoveries of the great antiquity of alphabetic writing among the people of Arabia have greatly modified the views which have been current with regard to the earlier history of the Old Testament. It can no longer be assumed that the tribes to whom the Israelites were related were illiterate nomads, and that the people who were led out of Egypt by Moses had no opportunity of making acquaintance with books and written records, and of formulating their own laws in a language cast in alphabetic form. No critic will now maintain that letters were unknown in Israel before the time of Samuel; for it has been shown that

the Oriental world, even in Northern Arabia, was a literary one, and that in Canaan, before the Exodus, education was carried to a high point. It had its libraries, schools and pupils, even before the conquest.

The language of the chosen people is thus seen to have assumed a peculiar character, both in its inner sense and in its outward form. Its principal wealth and strength consisted in its religious and ethical element.

It is probable that certain revelations of the Almighty were committed to writing soon after the time of Abraham; yet such a period was permitted to elapse before the coming of Moses and the formal construction of revelation as should suffice for the necessary development of the language under its alphabetic form. During this period certain words embodying the new ideas concerning God came to have a recognized meaning, and certain forms of expression passed into common use, and were thus clearly understood before the Pentateuch was composed and the body of Mosaic laws given to the people. At the same time, the fact that the dialects of all the Semitic nations between Assyria and Egypt were derived from one common type, and bore the same resemblance to each other that French, Spanish and Italian bear to each other at the present day, made the intercommunication of thought with those people comparatively easy, enabling the Hebrews to communicate to them when they desired a knowledge of their religious system.

A distinct providence, therefore, appears in the choice of this peculiar people, invested with its rich and flexible language. But there is still another

respect wherein the interposition of the Almighty is distinctly apprehended.

THE SO-CALLED MONOTHEISTIC INSTINCT.

It has been claimed by some skeptical philosophers of our own age that the Hebrews were the possessors of a certain monotheistic instinct inclining them by nature to the worship of one God, and out of which their religious system was subsequently developed, and therefore that no part of their endowment was divinely given. M. Renan claims that the Jews had no other revelation than that which they carried with them in the blood of their veins, or read on the sands of the desert, where there fathers had encamped. He says, in his History of the Semitic Languages: "They never would have reached the dogma of the divine unity had they not found it in the most imperious instincts of their minds and hearts. The desert is monotheist." This claim is simply preposterous. The children of Abraham even before the time of Moses on several occasions manifested idolatrous tendencies, and upon the first disappearance of Moses after their departure from Egypt they forsook the worship of God, and set up the golden calf in his stead.[15] It is not necessary to call the attention of the student of the Scriptures to the many other instances in which the same idolatrous tendency was displayed. They were never cured of it until the Babylonish captivity. Max Muller in his essay upon Semitic Monotheism finally disposes of Renan's theory. His conclusion, though we cannot endorse its every word, may be here quoted:

(15) See De Pressense's *Religions Before Christ*, p. 194.

"If we are asked how this one Abraham possessed not only the primitive intuition of God as he had revealed himself to all mankind, but passed through the denial of all other gods to the knowledge of the one God, we are content to answer that it was by a special divine revelation. We do not indulge in theological phraseology, but we mean every word to its fullest extent. The Father of truth chooses his own prophets, and he speaks to them in a voice stronger than a voice of thunder. It is the same inner voice through which God speaks to all of us. That voice may dwindle away and become hardly audible, but it may also, from time to time, assume its real nature with the chosen of God and sound into their ears as a voice from heaven. A "divine instinct" may sound more scientific and less theological, but in truth it would neither be an appropriate name for what is a gift of grace accorded but to few, nor would it be a more scientific, that is to say, a more intelligible word, than "special revelation." The important point, however, is not whether the faith of Abraham should be called a divine instinct or a revelation. What we wish here to insist on is that that instinct or that revelation was specially granted to one man and handed down from him to Jews, Christians and Mohammedans, to all who believe in the God of Abraham. Nor was it granted to Abraham entirely as a free gift. Abraham was tried and tempted before he was trusted by God. He had to break faith with his fathers. He had to deny the gods who were worshipped by his friends and neighbors. Like all the friends of God he had to hear himself called an infidel, and an atheist; and in our own days he would have been looked upon as a madman for attempting to slay his son. It was through special faith that Abraham received his special revelation, not through instinct nor through abstract meditation, nor through ecstatic visions. Even with the little we know of him he stands before us as a figure second only to One in the whole history of the world."(16)

Such were the characteristics and advantages which the Hebrew shared in common with kindred races; such were the features which distinguished him from them; and such was the divine addition to what we may call

(16) "Chips," I:367.

his natural endowments. The Almighty certainly added a special revelation, the faith to receive it, and the land in which it might be developed.

Part II.

Period of Seclusion: Semitic Supremacy.

"For even the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh; even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth."

—*Rom.* ix: 17.

Chapter III: The Schooling of Israel.

Chapter IV: The Adoption of Israel.

Chapter V: The Disciplining of Israel.

Chapter VI: "The Hope of Israel."

Chapter III.

THE SCHOOLING OF ISRAEL.

The history of the people of God before Christ, as we have indicated in a preceding chapter, is divided into three periods, that of Inclusion, of Seclusion, and of Diffusion. Each of these periods is distinguished by its own characteristic features. The first closed with Abraham. The second is distinguished by the independent existence of the Hebrew nation, and also by the preponderance of Semitic influence. The third is distinguished by the loss of Hebrew independence and the preponderance of Japhetic influence. Considering these last two periods, the first has its outlook towards Asia; the second towards Europe. The first period is that of the Hebrew; the second, that of the Jew.

In the present work we are not concerned with the history of those nations with whom the people of God were never closely associated. Doubtless they all had a share in preparing the way of the Lord, and the study of their providential history is exceedingly interesting. But we content ourselves with an examination of the history of such nations only as came in contact with the people of Israel, confining ourselves to the period during which they were associated.

The great Semitic empires had a calling to fulfill in training the Hebrew for his own special mission, and during the period of seclusion the purpose of God had particular reference to the education of his chosen

people. This is the testimony of Scripture. A number of quotations might be given of which the following are illustrations. The Almighty in his message to Pharaoh uses the following language, which may be applied not only to Pharaoh but also to the people whom he represented and over whom he ruled: "And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up for to show in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth."[1] Subsequent passages will be recalled in which distinct reference is made to the schooling which Israel received in Egypt, especially at the time of the Exodus. "He made known his ways unto Moses, his acts unto the children of Israel."[2]

Our knowledge of Egypt has been greatly increased by recent explorations. The events of its history have been ascertained with a precision which was not possible half a century ago, and we have been made well acquainted with its people. The very mummies of their kings have been discovered, unrolled from their long wrappings and displayed to the wondering eyes of the nineteenth century. These mummies are in such a state of preservation that their features plainly appear and indicate their character; while the rolls which accompany them, or the inscriptions which they themselves cut upon their monuments, give an account of their deeds. The sites of old cities have also been definitely ascertained. Their walls have been uncovered, and the fragments of their buildings which remain have enabled us to restore them with a good degree of accuracy. Many other data have also been furnished,

(1) Ex. ix: 16; Rom. ix: 17. (2) Ps. ciii: 7.

which need not here be described, by the aid of which we are able to construct a correct picture of the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

So, then, when the Lord led Israel down into Egypt, it was for the express purpose of putting him to school, and the Egyptians should be his teachers. Let us observe in the present chapter how the school was conducted, and in the next the lessons which were taught.

ISRAEL LED INTO EGYPT.

The descendants of Abraham had developed into a little clan. They numbered, all told, seventy souls, of whom four--Joseph, his wife, and two sons, were in the land of Egypt; and sixty-six remained in the land of Canaan. Under the inspiration of the divine promise they had already begun to feel the stirrings of an incipient national life. The name "Israel," by which they were forever after to be known, had been assumed by them. It was a mysterious name, the meaning of which they themselves alone understood, but it foreshadowed both struggle and victory. There were now twelve families of them, the progeny of a single man, and with the promise of rapid increase. Already there had been some collision between them and their expatriated kinsmen of other clans, and there was great danger lest in the conflicts that would certainly ensue either with these or with alien tribes, they should be overpowered by superior numbers and substantially exterminated. They were but a "little flock," but since it was the "Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom," it became necessary that they should be taken under the sheltering care of some

great power whereby their preservation and multiplication would be insured. For this the divine providence now provided.

EGYPT UNDER THE HYKSOS.

The time of the Hebrews' entrance into Egypt was most favorable to their reception, from the fact that its northern portion was in the hands of a Semitic people, from the same general section as their own original fatherland. The native races had been driven to the south, and the Hyksos, or "Shepherd Kings," were in possession of Lower Egypt. The word Hyksos is a compound of "Hyk," a king, and "Sos," a shepherd, or, more correctly, a nomad.

The origin of these people has not yet been definitely ascertained. Recent researches seem to point to Mesopotamia as their native place, where, at the time of their invasion of Egypt, important events were taking place. The King of Elam invaded Babylonia, plundered the country, and carried away from the city of Urukh to his capital, Shushan, a large amount of spoil. It cannot be affirmed that the invasion of Egypt is connected with this particular war, but it is probable that the struggle between the Elamites and the Mesopotamians brought about the Hyksos invasion of Egypt. The Elamites themselves, did not probably proceed as far as the Nile, but they drove out of the country a mixed multitude, belonging probably to different races, which overran Egypt under powerful leadership. This is the conclusion of M. Naville.[3] If it is correct, the Hyksos cannot longer be considered the barbarians that they were formerly supposed to

[3] *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, No. 90.

have been. They belonged to nations which had already attained a high degree of civilization; and it was for this reason that Egypt, under their dominion, did not seriously suffer in its internal life. Its conquest was signalized by devastation and ruin; but the conquerors submitted to the influence of their more refined subjects, and easily adopted the principal features of their civilization, which was not altogether unlike their own.

For nearly 500 years, ending about 1900 B.C., these people had sovereign possession of the country, and ruled in Egypt in much the same way as the Moors in Spain; but in consequence of the hatred with which they were regarded, the native princes, on their restoration of power, endeavored to obliterate every trace of their sovereignty. The largest number and the most interesting in character have been found within a few years, at Bubastis, the Pi-Beseth of Scripture,[4] which, though a very ancient city,[5] became one of the chief centers of Hyksos power. But as it was adopted as a royal residence by later kings of native dynasties, its Hyksos monuments were mutilated or destroyed.[6] The case is the same throughout the entire Hyksos territory. There is now and then a statue showing a fresh type of men, altogether distinct from the natives of the country. The faces are broad and flat, the cheekbones are higher than those of the Egyptians, the lips are thicker, the jaws are wider, and the mouth is full of a stern determination. Their

(4) Ezek. xxx: 17.

(5) *Egypt under the Pharaohs*; Brugsch, I, 6, and II, 16

(6) For an account of these discoveries, see *Miss Edwards* in the *Century Magazine*, Jan., 1890.

hair and beards are dressed in a different way, and their clothing, oftentimes consisting of the skins of animals, indicates a more northern origin.

The first great leader of this singular people who united the invading hordes and brought them under a single sceptre is known as Salatis. It would appear from the account of Manetho, the Egyptian priest and scribe quoted by Josephus, that this man was made the head-king with the consent and co-operation of the others. The invaders seem for a time to have been divided into several powerful bands. But the desire to secure a stronger central government overcame in time the separate interests of the leaders and the divided sovereignty was united in a single person. A colossal head has been discovered near Memphis which is supposed to be the portrait of Salatis.[7] He wears a heavily plaited wig very unlike that of the native Egyptians, and the ornaments of his head-gear are quite uncouth and barbaric in style. This head, like the celebrated "Black Sphinx," which is also doubtless a portrait statue of some great Hyksos leader, is cut from black marble, for which these people showed a manifest predilection. Salatis fixed his royal residence at Memphis, at the apex of the Delta. The site of this city is to-day a desolate waste, only a few piles of stone and a single fallen statue remaining to mark the site of what was once a flourishing capital of the greatest nation in the world.

But in order to guard against invasion from the east Salatis fortified and garrisoned his most exposed cities. He seemed to be more solicitous concerning the war-

[7] *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, Miss Edwards, 145.

like tribes upon the east from whom he had himself proceeded than on account of the conquered Egyptians. He foresaw that the Assyrians might endeavor to penetrate through the tribes upon their west and make an attack upon the kingdom which he had acquired, and it therefore became especially important for him to guard the routes leading from Egypt to the east. He therefore rebuilt and fortified a city which he found upon the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and which on account of an old religious legend with regard to the worship of the left leg of Osiris was called Avaris (Ha-uar; "the place of the leg.") [8] Salatis also chose for his second royal residence an ancient city in Lower Egypt, celebrated not only in secular history but in sacred history as well, as we shall note particularly under our next topic. He dwelt at Memphis for the greater part of the year, and came to his northern capital only at the period of harvest in order to collect his tribute and review and dicipline his troops, but his successors made this city their constant capital, and it continued to be so during the whole period of Hyksos domination.

Three dynasties of the Hyksos are known to the students of Egyptian history, numbered in the records, XV, XVI and XVII. The first of these ruled only in the Delta. The second was supreme over the whole country, the native rulers in Upper Egypt having been reduced to mere tributaries, and their territory divided among a number of petty princes. The third

(8) The site of Avaris is not definitely determined. By some authorities it is identified with Tanis. *Records of the Past, New Series;* Sayce, II, 40.

dynasty felt the influence of the Egyptian revolt and were obliged to fight for their place and power, and were finally expelled from the country. The native sovereigns who succeeded them cherished such an exceeding aversion to their memory that, as has been noted, they destroyed almost all of the records of their reign, even the monuments which they left being recut or broken into fragments. In consequence the names of but three Hyksos kings are known to us, Salatis, the founder of the first dynasty, and two kings with the same name Aphobis (Apepi). The last Aphobis stands at the head of the third and last dynasty of the Shepherd Kings. There is now but little question among Egyptologists that it was during his reign that the children of Israel entered Egypt. But even before their coming other races of the common stock had sought refuge in the country. There is evidence from the monuments that the land was colonized during many generations by Edomite and Ishmaelite settlers, and the succeeding immigration drew many even from distant Assyria. Therefore, it was not strange that when the famine occurred in Canaan, the Hebrews should have followed a well-worn track and gone down into Egypt.

TANIS-ZOAN.

The capital of these Hyksos Kings to which we have referred as a place of great interest is known in the Bible as Zoan and in secular history as Tanis. The Egyptian name of this place is T'san. This was changed into the softer form of Tanis by the Greeks,

but the initial T's is the same letter as Z, like the German "Tset," so that T'san becomes Zan or Zoan. During the long period of Hyksos domination this city was the center and glory of Northern Egypt. It is a particularly interesting place to the student of providential history, since it is intimately associated not only with the coming of the Hebrews, but also with their departure.

A passage in the book of Numbers[9] informs us that this city was built seven years after Hebron in Canaan. But Hebron was an old and well known town in the days of Abraham, so that the foundation of Tanis must date from great antiquity. The references to it in the Scripture are quite frequent for the reasons which have been given, and the Hebrews had special cause to remember it because of the "marvelous things which the Lord did in the sight of their fathers in the land of Egypt in the field of Zoan."[10] To this place Abraham journeyed at the time of the famine in Canaan, and in the palace of one of its Hyksos kings his wife came very near to being a fair captive for life. To this place Joseph was brought by the Midianitish caravan and sold to the captain of Pharaoh's guards.

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

By a singular course of providential circumstances, familiar to the readers of the Bible, Joseph was delivered from imprisonment and advanced to exalted station. His promotion was the work of Aphobis II., the founder of the last Hyksos dynasty. It

(9) Numbers xiii: 22.

(10) Ps. lxxviii: 12.

is fully set forth in the early traditions of the Christian Church, and receives very remarkable confirmation from the monuments. An inscription at Eilethyia, in Upper Egypt, relating to Baba, a captain under King Taa III, by whom the Hyksos were expelled, contains these words: "I collected corn as a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing, and when a famine arose lasting many years, I distributed corn to the city each year of the famine." As a famine "lasting many years" is an occurrence of the very greatest infrequency in Egypt, and as only one such famine is known to history, this must be the same as that which Joseph had foreseen and for which he had provided, and definitely fixes his regency under the reign of the king whom Christian tradition has designated as his Pharaoh.[11]

There is also a celebrated papyrus in the British Museum which dates from the fourteenth century B. C., the age of the great Rameses. Dr. Brugsch describes its contents as: "An ancient Egyptian fairy tale, the oldest fairy tale in the world." It was composed by a scribe named Anna for Seti II, the grandson of Rameses II, when he was crown prince. The first portion of it has a remarkable resemblance to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and there is little doubt that the scribe worked into his tale the same incident which the Bible has recorded. The chief persons in the tale are two brothers and the elder brother's wife. The younger brother is falsely accused, very much as Joseph was; flees from his brother's wrath, and, aided by the Sun-god, experiences a peculiar transformation.

[11] Brugsch, Vol. I, ch. xii.

The woman meets a well-deserved fate, and the two brothers are in the end reconciled, the younger becoming king of Egypt and the elder his regent and successor. From these and other evidences which are furnished by tradition and history, it is now universally conceded that Joseph was, as the Bible declares him to have been, an Egyptian prime minister, and that his king was Aphobis II.[12]

We read in Genesis that "Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah, and he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On."[13] This wife Asenath was the mother of his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. Her father was the priest or "prince" of On. This was the name given to a distinguished city then at the height of its opulent and intellectual influence, the site of which has in modern times been well determined. The situation is marked by the ruins of the modern town of Matariyeh, the suburb of the old temple town of Heliopolis, half a mile distant. The name occurs several times in the Bible. Ezekiel calls it "Aven" and Jeremiah "Bethshemesh." This last name is only a transcription into Hebrew, having the same signification as Heliopolis in Greek, "The City of the Sun." The name of the city doubtless refers to the form of worship which was there celebrated.

It appears, therefore, from the Scriptures and from the corroboration afforded by the Egyptian monuments that Joseph enjoyed special influence under

(12) A very instructive article, illustrating Joseph's life in Egypt by the Egyptian records, will be found in the *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, No. 57.

(13) Gen. xli: 45.

this shepherd king. He was also in a position to confer special privileges upon his brethren. A certain paragraph in the Bible story which has given considerable trouble to historians and to commentators becomes entirely intelligible in view of the facts which have been stated. Joseph instructed his brethren, when the king should call for them and ask, "What is your occupation?" to answer, "Thy servant's trade has been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers," and the same historian gives the reason: "For every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians."[14] The brethren of Joseph were instructed to say that they were shepherds (which was the truth with regard to them), hoping it would bring them at once into favor with this king, who was not an Egyptian by descent, but a foreigner. They would thus be shown to be akin, not to the native princes on the south, but to the invaders of the north, and might thus be expected to become their faithful allies.[15]

The policy of Joseph in this instance displays his usual wisdom. It was entirely successful. The Hebrews at once entered upon the enjoyment of certain special advantages in view of the fact that they belonged to the same general stock as the Hyksos kings, and especially in view of the fact that one of their own number occupied the second place in the kingdom and had already rendered distinguished services.

(14) Gen. xlvi: 33, 34.
(15) See *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*; Harper, p. 70.

Here then in the vicinity of the capital city of Tanis is the school-house of Israel. The "Field of Zoan" in the days which we are considering was a rich alluvial plain, well adapted to the pursuits of those shepherds who had entered Egypt under Salatis, and well adapted also to the avocation of Joseph's brethern who were shepherds themselves. Its original character cannot be inferred from the condition of the region to-day. It is now a barren waste. Many miles of it have been covered by the salt waters of Lake Menzaleh. The broad fields where the Israelites pastured their flocks, have many of them been converted into desolate marshes. Heaps of sand have been piled over other sections, and the glory of the land has departed. But in the days of Joseph it was a section of great fertility and beauty.(16) M. Naville locates the particular section which was colonized by the Israelites in the general region lying between the present city of Belbeis and Tel-el-Kebir. At that time it was not one of the provinces of Egypt nor divided among the inhabitants who were regularly settled. It was rather an uncultivated district, sufficiently watered to produce good pasturage and might be suitably assigned to foreigners without despoiling the native inhabitants. There is an allusion to the section in a certain Egyptian inscription written after the Exodus, in which we are told that "the country near Bailos (Belbeis) was not cultivated, but left as pasture for cattle."(17) There was thus only a short distance between the royal residence of Joseph and the territory allotted to his brethren. He settled his family near himself in the section which was best

(16) *Picturesque Palestine;* II: 361. (17) *Victoria Institute*, No. 90.

fitted for the breeding of cattle, and probably adjoining the pastures of the king's own flocks; because we are informed in the sacred story that certain of the brethren of Joseph were entrusted with the keeping of the royal cattle as chief of the king's herdsmen.[18]

SCHOOL BEGINS.

Under such favoring circumstances the School of Providence is opened. It is to be a graded school, and the grades shall be four in number. The Israelites now enter upon the first grade. If they are ever to become a settled people they must be taught to give up their roving habits. They must cease to be nomads, such as their cousins the Ishmaelites still remain, and be transformed into agriculturists. This then is the lesson of the first grade. The transformation is easily and naturally effected. The royal patron of these Israelites was once a nomad himself. Joseph, his viceroy has been one also. It will be easy to follow where they lead. So at the first grazing is combined with husbandry, though in order even to grazing certain agricultural methods must necessarily be employed. The monuments are very rich in detail showing in full the means employed by the farmers of that early age. Indeed, the system has changed but little in the course of centuries. The cultivation of the fields was accomplished by irrigation, canals running from the river banks to the greatest distance permitted by the lay of the land, with smaller canals branching from them and covering the whole face of the country as with a network. The water was raised from the river by

(18) Genesis xlvii: 6.

various machines like those still in use. The simplest machine was the "shadoof" which consisted of a long heavy pole with a rude bucket on one end and a lump of Nile mud upon the other. There was also the more complicated "sakkieh," which consisted of an endless chain moving about a toothed wheel and operated by ox or camel power. To this chain was fastened a number of buckets which dipped and discharged the water in rotation. The Israelites without doubt used these machines as the Egyptians do to-day, and cultivated their fields with the same rude wooden plows which the traveler in the land of the Pharaohs sees in our own age.

Nor was it all work with them. The Scripture refers to the abundance which they enjoyed in the prolific climate. The rivers were full of fish, the plains abounded with game, and a large variety of wild fowl were found upon their waters. Goshen was a sportsman's paradise.

So for several generations during the first session of their school, the life of the people passed pleasantly away. But the preparatory grade completed the scholars must be conducted into the next. In the second grade they shall study the science of building, for into that land in which God will lead them by and by they must not only plant vineyards and till farms, but they must also erect houses, raise the walls of cities, and at last build a temple for the earthly dwelling place of their Eternal King. For this second term, however, a new class of teachers is provided; and the king arose "who knew not Joseph."

THE EXPULSION OF THE HYKSOS.

The empire of the Hyksos was now upon the eve of its decline. The same king who had made Joseph his regent became involved in serious trouble with the native princes upon the south. It would appear that the power which was so long enjoyed had encouraged him to put upon them an indignity beyond any which they had yet suffered and which even in their weakness they were not prepared to tolerate. Aphobis attempted to impose the worship of his own Semitic god, "Baal-Sutekh," upon the native races.

Baal-Sutekh is a compound of a Semitic word with an Egyptian one. The Semitic "Baal" is a familiar one to the Bible student. Where it stands alone it signifies only "Lord," but it is often used in composition to denote a particular divinity. Thus we have in the Scripture such compositions as "Baal-Berith," the Lord of the Covenant, "Baal-gad," the Lord of Fortune, "Baal-Zebub," the Lord of Flies, and many others. The name of the Hyksos god is itself preserved in scripture in "Baal-Zephon," the name of the place where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea.[19] Set, Sutekh, is an old Egyptian word. The god Set, who is also called Typhon (Zephon) was the Destroyer, and had been worshiped from the foundation of Memphis, the seat of his peculiar cult. The Hyksos kings had compounded his name with that of their own god, and Baal-Sutekh (Baal-Zephon) was the peculiar divinity of the invaders. The very composition, however, was an offense to the native Egyptians, and the at-

(19) Exodus xiv: 9.

tempts to introduce his worship among them by force was resisted as no other act of tyranny had been.

In all ages no question so fires the heart as a religious one; no battle is so desperate as that which concerns the altar and its sacrifice. It was so then. The attempted indignity nerved the native Egyptians for a conflict to which they had been hitherto unequal.

At this time, according to a papyrus in the British Museum, there was an under-king in the south, Ra-Sekenen, by name. He had incurred for some reason, which does not appear, the special displeasure of the tyrant of the north, who sought to hurl him from his throne, and for this purpose manufactured a pretext to carry out his intention. He required of him to give up the worship of his own gods that Baal-Sutekh might be the sole divinity of Egypt. Ra-Sekenen made a reply to the king's messenger, which is lacking, owing to the mutilation of the papyrus. We know that the foreign messenger was hospitably entertained and sent back to the court of his king, while Ra-Sekenen in all haste called his counsellors about him, and while they were silent in their great apprehension and grief, himself determined what he would do. The details of the history cannot here be given.[20] It is enough for us to record that Ra-Sekenen inaugurated the successful uprising of the native Egyptians against the foreign tyrants, and became the Garibaldi of Egyptian independence. The native Egyptians chose him for their leader and elevated him to the sovereignty,

[20] A translation of the papyrus is given by Prof. Maspero, in *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. II, 40. Prof. Maspero, however, is inclined to treat the story as a historical romance.

wherein he assumed the name of Ta-Aken as his royal designation. He was a capable, judicious and brave man, and finally fell in battle fighting for the independence of his people. His body was hastily embalmed, taken to Thebes and buried.

The conflict between the native and foreign princes lasted many years, until the Hyksos were driven into their last strongholds in the Delta. They were finally besieged in the city of Tanis, their capital, which was sacked and its inhabitants slaughtered, while the great temple of the god Baal-Sutekh (whose imposed worship had been the occasion of the revolution by which the native princes were re-invested with dominion) was burned with fire.

HATASU AND THOTHMES.

The dynasty of native kings which followed the restoration continued in power for about three hundred years. It is known as the XVIII. Its earlier kings were occupied with the work of reconstruction, and nothing of special value to us is to be noted concerning them. But about midway in their history we come upon two sovereigns of great ability, during whose reign Egypt was signally happy and prosperous, and the children of Israel, as yet unoppressed, must have made remarkable progress in every way. To this period should probably be referred the seventh verse of the first chapter of Exodus in which, after the record of the death of Joseph and his generation we read: "The children of Israel were fruitful and increased abundantly and multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty and the land was filled with them."

The first of these two great sovereigns was a woman, Queen Hatasu, well called the Queen Elizabeth of Egyptian history.[21] She reigned about thirty years, with results very similar to those of the Elizabethan era. It was a period of invention, of intellectual revival, of long voyages of discovery, of increasing wealth, and above all of profound peace. Queen Hatasu built vessels of greater size than any ever constructed and upon a new model. This revolution in Egyptian ship-building produced results in character and importance not unlike those that transpired upon the development of steam navigation in our own age. The Egyptians became a sea-going people. This brought at the first culture and wealth, and soon led in turn to political ambition, extension and conquest.

But while the Israelites were spectators of all this and shared in its advantages, we are more particularly concerned on their account with more important features. The Israelites were not in Egypt to learn navigation. They were there first of all to learn from the sovereigns of this period how to build; and although the plan, first of their tabernacle and afterwards of their temple, was divine; yet it were preposterous to suppose that no human elements of training were included. On the contrary it is a most singular fact that the Israelites dwelt in Egypt at the very period when its sovereigns gave their particular attention to this branch of architecture.

Queen Hatasu heads the list of the more conspicuous temple-builders of Egypt. The development of Egyptian architecture during the five hundred years which

(21) See *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, Miss Edwards, chap. viii.

succeeded bears a close resemblance to the development of Gothic architecture in Europe. It is marked by three distinct periods. First, that of the plain and simple, corresponding to the Anglo-Norman style. Second, the stately and massive, corresponding to the best Gothic; and third, the ornamental and meretricious, corresponding to the perpendicular or flamboyant. The reader will, however, note well the fact that the Israelites never took lessons in the third style, as it did not make its appearance until one hundred years after the Exodus.

Hatasu was succeeded by her brother, Thothmes III. While he was not in all respects the greatest of the kings of Egypt, he was at least her greatest military genius. He is called the Alexander the Great of Egypt. But we are not concerned with his wars. He was a temple-builder of conspicuous note, and the remains of his great temple at Thebes are still standing. The columns are polygonal, very regular and plain, unbroken by any figure whatsoever.[22] This is the Norman age of Egyptian architecture.

THE XIX DYNASTY.

We pass now over a clean century and reach the XIX dynasty. It is the most remarkable in Egyptian history, and it is the dynasty of the Hebrew bondage and exodus. It displayed physical vigor and intellectual power beyond any that Egypt had as yet seen. Under its kings the former invaders of the country were followed into Asia and still further humiliated. The Egyptian conquests were extended until almost all

(22) *Pharaohs, Fellahs;* p. 173.

IPSAMBOUL.

Syria had fallen under the yoke, and the Egyptian sovereigns reigned supreme from Ethiopia on the south, to the Orontes on the north, and the Euphrates on the east. The first king of this dynasty is Rameses I., the first sovereign of the great Ramessidæ. He was succeeded by his son Seti I. Mark well his name. Seti, or Set, is the same as Sutekh, the name of the god of the ancient Hyksos!

Seti I. was a great warrior and a great statesman, but he was a greater architect and builder. In him and his more illustrious son Egyptian architecture passed into its second stage, corresponding to the best period of the European Gothic, and those splendid edifices were erected at Thebes, which are still the admiration and despair of the civilized world.

There was growth, and very rapid growth, in architecture under Seti I. His great temple at Abydos, about one hundred miles north of Thebes, is built in the style of the former dynasty, though more massive and symmetrical. But towards the close of his reign a great architect appeared. His name was Bak-en-Khonsu. This Egyptian Angelo deserves the credit for the advance in architecture which is noted during the reign of Seti. His work is massive and symmetrical beyond description, and no mere language can do it justice.

Meanwhile let us remember the Israelites were at school, fitting themselves to become the teachers of mankind.

RAMESES II. (SESOSTRIS.)

But King Seti only prepared the way for his more

remarkable son. He was to his successor what Philip was to Alexander, or David to Solomon.

His wife, whose name was Tua, ranked as a pure Egyptian, for her father was such, but her mother was a princess of Mesopotamia, and in her face the Egyptian and Assyrian lineaments, as shown by her portrait-statue which still exists, were strangely but beautifully blended. She gave birth to the Pharaoh of the bondage, the king who made slaves of the Children of Israel, and obliged them to serve with rigor until their groans entered into the ears of the Lord God of their fathers.

Rameses II. was the greatest of all the kings of Egypt. He kept his throne for sixty-seven years, and died a centenarian. His reign was distinguished by an intellectual and political renaissance in which the power and glory, which had been on the increase from the accession of his grandfather Rameses I., culminated. The most remarkable of all facts, however, in connection with him, and without which his remarkable character and career cannot be fully explained, is this: He was not an Egyptian by descent, but an Assyrian. His grandfather, Rameses I., was a usurper. Little is known about him, except that he was in some way allied to the Shepherd kings who had been expelled from the country two hundred years before. Seti, the son of Rameses I. and the father of Rameses II., in order to assure the right of his descendants to the throne of Egypt, married the Egyptian princess Tua to whom we have just referred. Rameses II., therefore, held his throne in the estimation of his subjects by rights inherited from his mother, while he

himself upon his father's side was an Assyrian. Historians have always been perplexed by his peculiarities. They were convinced that he did not belong to the pure Egyptian race. Years ago Lenormant called attention to the classical regularity of his features, denoting an origin drawn from some other people than the descendants of Ham.[23] There were also indications that the race from which he was descended was allied to that of the Shepherds, many of whose followers, notwithstanding the wars of extermination, still remained in the delta of the Nile. As though in keeping with this theory, an inscription discovered at Tanis records the re-establishment by Rameses of the worship of the national deity of the Hyksos in their ancient capital—of which more hereafter. The reader is familiar with the "Finding of Pharaoh" in July, 1881, by Emil Brugsch Bey. In connection with this remarkable discovery it has been finally determined that Rameses the Great is the explanation of the hitherto enigmatical statement of Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord God, My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there, *and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause.*"[24]

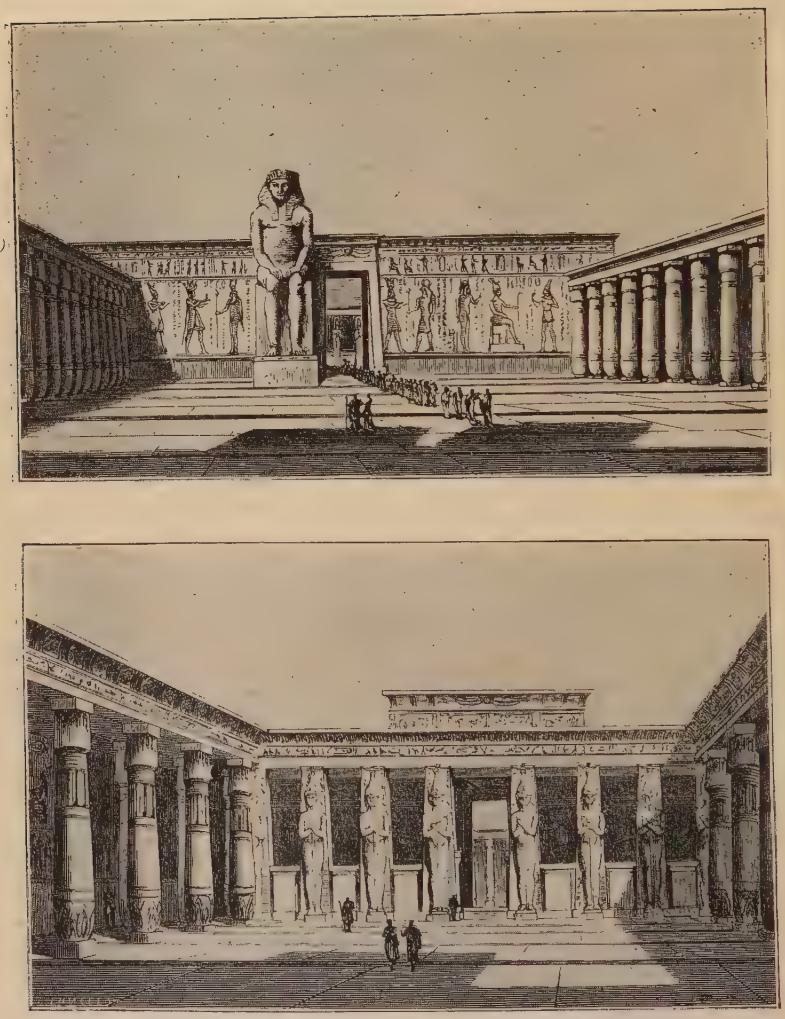
At the time of the accession of Rameses, and doubtless owing largely to his authority, Semitic influences preponderated in Egyptian affairs. The coming of the Semitic hordes had produced in Egypt very much the same effect which the incursion of the northern barbarians produced upon Italy in the early centuries of our own era. At first they blighted and wasted

[23] *Ancient History of the East*; Book III, chap. iii.
(24) Is. lii: 4. See *Uarda*; George Ebers; chaps. ix and xxvi.

that which they had overcome; but after a time the infusion of fresh blood reinvigorated the effete people, and the outcome was a new Egypt, as subsequently it was a new Italy. Egyptian civilization experienced a new birth. Egypt became young again. Satiated with the traditions of thousands of years which had now vanished into the past, they found a positive pleasure in the fresh and lively vigor of the Semitic spirit. There was a new generation of poets, historians, sculptors and architects; and the age of Rameses was to Egypt what the age of the Medici was to Italy. The most flourishing period of Egyptian history was introduced. Egyptian art and literature attained their highest perfection, while both show distinct traces of Semitic influence.[25] The Egyptian language is at this point enriched with foreign expressions. The letters and documents of the time are full of Semitic words. The scribes seem to have felt a sentimental craving for the use of them, without any real necessity, in order to give to themselves, in the eyes of the public, an air of learned culture. At the head of the long list of graceful and distinguished writers stands the poet Pentaur, the Homer of Egypt, some of whose productions have come down to us. It is for such reasons, therefore, derived from the condition of affairs at this juncture, that we are justified in characterizing the Egyptian domination during the entire period of Hebrew residence as Semitic.

Rameses himself is the flower and crown of the age. He has extended his empire both south and east, until Ethiopia, Arabia, Syria, and even a portion

[25] See "*Uarda*," chap. viii.



PORTIONS OF THE RAMESSEUM RESTORED.

of Mesopotamia, have been added to it.[26] He is a man of such remarkable physical power as to be able single-handed to overcome a host of enemies, and in the thick of the fight to cut his way through opposing numbers, even after his charioteer has been slain, and he must not only wield his weapons, but guide his horses also. His great muscular power is associated also with remarkable physical endurance. He surpasses all other Egyptian monarchs in the length of his reign. He is a man of intense activity. He is the greatest of all Egyptian builders. His monuments cover the soil of Egypt and Nubia in incredible numbers. There is scarcely a ruin that does not bear his name. Some of the most remarkable temples were built by him, notably the celebrated Ramesseum of Thebes, and the rock Temple of Ipsamboul.[27] The former building was a splendid monument, and one of the most perfect of Egypt—the work of Bak-en-Khonsu.

"As we stand in the shadow of its mighty columns," says a certain writer, "we begin to realize the majesty of the Theban sanctuary and the magnificence of the king who could rear such a temple to his praise. There on the pylons was the spectacle of his triumphs. Above all, the supreme scene where, deserted by his body-guard, and surrounded by the enemy, Rameses throws himself into the thick of the fray, with single arm deals death around, kills with his own hand the chief of the Hittites, and crushes the fleeing foe under his chariot wheels; and when his officers crowd around him with servile solicitations, denounces them for their cowardice." [28]

The colossal portrait-statue of Rameses, with which this temple was adorned, was the most gigantic figure which the Egyptians ever carved out of a single block

[26] *Ancient History;* Rawlinson, 84.

[27] See *Hours with the Bible;* Geike, II, 76.

[28] *Picturesque Palestine,* II, 433. "*Uarda,*" ch. xlvii.

of granite. It was fifty feet in height, and weighed nearly 1200 tons.

TANIS RE-BUILT.

But in the providence of God, and in order that the divine control of human affairs might be distinctly set forth and emphasized, Rameses was led to select for his permanent abode and chief royal residence the ancient capital of the Hyksos. For 300 years Tanis had lain in ruins, but for the divine purpose connected with the emancipation of the chosen people, it must be rebuilt, and Rameses, the oppressor of the Israelites, is the king who is selected to do the work.

Although he had raised his monument in Thebes, and held public court in Memphis, and dedicated a temple in Heliopolis, yet no one of these was to be his permanent abode. His dominions were so extensive towards the east and north that it became necessary for him to reside in some city in the northern part of Egypt, and therefore at his royal command Tanis arose from its ruins. Its fortifications were strengthened. It was magnificently adorned. Ebers has given us some idea of the splendor with which the king surrounded himself in a description of his royal palace at Thebes. He tells us that it was more like a little town than a house. The part for use by the royal family commanded a view of the Nile, from which it offered to the passing vessels a pleasing prospect, as it stood amidst its gardens and its picturesque buildings. It contained immense state rooms and a banqueting hall, and comprised three rows of pavilions of different sizes, extending in symmetrical order. These were

connected with each other by collonades or by little bridges, under which flowed canals that watered the gardens and gave the palace the aspect of a town upon islands. The walls and pillars, and even the roofs, blazed with many colors, and at every gate rose tall masts, from which red and blue flags streamed when the king was in residence.[29]

Such was Thebes: but Thebes should be eclipsed by Tanis. A description of the city and the surrounding district is given in a letter written by a certain scribe named Panbesa. This contemporary of Moses conveys to us an idea of the condition of that region which was the home of the Israelites. The writer says:

"So I arrived at the city of Rameses, and I found it excellent. Nothing can compare with it on Theban soil. It is pleasant to live in. Its fields are full of good things, and life passes in constant plenty and abundance. Its canals are rich in fish, its lakes swarm with birds, its meadows are green with vegetables; there is no end of lentils; melons with a taste like honey grow in the irrigated fields."

Then follows a long and detailed description of the flowers, fruits and birds of the district; while even the courtesy of the people is described, the songs of the women lauded, and their beauty enthusiastically extolled.

We are able to restore this city from data that cannot be questioned.[30] The spade of the excavator has laid bare the walls, and shown the very location of its gates and towers. The foundations of its important

(29) *Uarda*, ch. xxi. See also Ebers' "Egypt," Vol. I, p. 97.

(30) See *The Story of Tanis*, Miss Edwards, Harper's Magazine, Oct. 1886. Brugsch, Vol. I, ch. xii.

buildings have been discovered, while the broken fragments of them which remain inform us concerning their character.

The city lay on the eastern side of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, facing westward. The traveler, in the days of Moses, as he sailed down the river towards the north, passed great gateways to suburban temples or private residences, catching a glint of the sea in the distance, and landed finally at the foot of a splendid stone stairway. Disembarking here he approached the city by a paved roadway through a double row of massive sphinxes leading from the landing to the gate of the city, nearly half a mile away. Passing the gate the traveler advanced through a double court-yard flanked by high pylons to the principal avenue, the Via Sacra of the metropolis. This avenue was 400 feet long. On either side there was a row of obelisks and colossi, constructed of different kinds of stone in order to the subtlest play of light and color. At the end of the avenue rose the splendid temple of Ra, one of the most magnificent buildings in all Egypt.

The remaining portion of the city was in keeping with its more sacred part. It was furnished everywhere with the utmost splendor. It was the design of Rameses to make of this city of Tanis not only a magnificent royal residence, but also a temple-city, the holy places of which should be dedicated to the gods of the country. The great temple of Ra, however, was his crowning work. It was substantially a temple to Rameses himself, and his immense portrait-statue was erected beside its entrance. This great image surpassed in size the monolith which Rameses had erected

at Thebes. It was cut from the precious red granite of Syene, a thousand miles up the Nile. It was 90 feet high, and the pedestal upon which it stood was 30 feet, the whole erected upon a raised court-yard overlooking every object in the city.

But the strangest fact in connection with the religious designs of the royal schemer was this: remembering that his own capital had been built on the site of the ancient capital of the Hyksos, and possibly also because he himself was of Hyksos or kindred extraction, he rebuilt the temple of the Hyksos god, Baal-Sutekh, and his own effigy was carved for a statue of the god. Baal-Sutekh indeed was his patron god, and is so represented in the great poem of Pentaur descriptive of the campaigns of the king in Syria. He is represented as appealing to this god for aid in his battle against the Hittites. His answer is received in a special inspiration of strength, and he cries:

"I am as Baal in his wrath. The chariots which encompass me are dashed to pieces under the hoofs of my horses. Headlong I drive them to the waters edge."

His enemies are then represented as crying aloud:

"This is no mere man who is in the midst of us. It is Sutekh, the glorious, it is Baal in the flesh." (31)

This is sufficient to show the peculiar character of his sovereignty and the arbitrary nature of his religious projects. He ventured to defy the very sentiment of the people over whom he ruled, the defiance of which three centuries before had cost a king his crown and the whole conquering race their territory.

Yet it may have contented his subjects that the

(31) *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, 208. Brugsch, II: 99.

temple of Sutehk was surpassed by the temple of Ra, their own chief divinity, to whom Rameses always yielded the priority.

To be beheld at its best the capital of Rameses should have been seen when the king himself was in residence. Let us suppose that he has just returned from some successful military expedition. The houses are then decked with garlands, the citizens are in holi day attire. The river is crowded with decorated shipping. It is a grand carnival in honor of the conqueror. He has landed at the great stairway and is now moving up the avenue of sphinxes toward the city gates. Here comes the great procession; foot soldiers bearing their heavy weapons adorned with palm branches; archers with bows and boomerangs; runners with javelins; Nubians with clubs and axes, and Sardinian mercenaries with short swords. Then follow the chariots, each with warrior and driver; the prisoners chained man to man, an indescribable display of trophy; and finally, amid the greatest clamor, and surrounded by his glittering body-guard, the king himself. He rides in his gilded chariot, attended by the high priest of his divinity, who burns incense before him. He is clad in flowing robes of fine white muslin, which are girded about his waist with a jeweled belt. His helmet is covered with a leopard's skin. His arms are bare and shine with glittering bracelets. Behind him follow his war lions, held in leash by their keeper, and at his chariot wheels march his sons, adorned with ostrich feathers. He stands upright to receive the congratulations and adoration of his people, and thus moves up the splendid avenue toward the

temple gates. Here the priests receive him, salute him as divine, honor him as the son of Ra, their chief divinity, and attend him as he passes into the temple to praise the gods for his victories and to devote to them his spoils. Such, then, is Tanis, and such is its builder and its king.

THE OPPRESSION.

We observe, therefore, that with the rebuilding of Tanis the Israelites pass from the second stage of their providential school into the third, in order to learn some lessons not yet acquired. Their political unity must be effected; they must be welded into a nation. But such a welding is a fiery process. It has never been accomplished except in a furnace; and the hotter the flame the more compact the union.

No lesson is more plainly taught to us by history than this: that common suffering has been the most potent of all factors in the creation of a national spirit and a national life. It teaches men the rights of each other. It makes them brethren. Through this experience, therefore, the Hebrews must pass, and Rameses the Great shall be their oppressor. He has no sympathy for those whom he regards as Canaanites and his tremendous building ambitions are well served by the Egyptian hatred of foreigners; particularly of all who have been in any way related to the Shepherd kings. So he sends the Hebrews into his brick yards.[32]

The result was a galling bondage, the character of which is fully set forth upon the Egyptian monuments. His slaves were branded with a hot iron to prevent

(32) See Harper's *Bible and Modern Discoveries*, ch. ii.

their flight and to facilitate their re-capture. Most of them were kept in Egypt; but large numbers were sent to the quarries on the borders of Ethiopia, or to the mines of Arabia Petræa, beyond the Red Sea.[33] The king also entered into an alliance with the Syrians, by whose terms it was expressly agreed that fugitive slaves should be returned to him. The oldest diplomatic document extant, which has been preserved in an inscription at Thebes, is the text of a treaty between Rameses and the Hittites, upon the River Orontes, with whom he had been at war, but with whom a final treaty of peace had been concluded. The document stipulates for perpetual peace and alliance between the two nations, and the two kings reciprocally promise to give no asylum each to the servants or subjects of the other who may have left their own country:

"If there flee away of the inhabitants (one from the land of Egypt) or two or three, and they betake themselves to the great king of Khita, (the great king of Khita shall not) allow them (to remain but he shall) deliver them up and send them back to Ramessu Miamun, the great prince of Egypt. In the same way shall it be done if inhabitants of the land of Khita take to flight, be it one alone or two or three, to betake themselves to Ramessu Miamun, the great prince of Egypt. Ramessu Miamun the great prince of Egypt shall cause them to be seized and they shall be delivered up to the great king of Khita."[34]

It is perfectly evident, however, that Pharaoh was the greater gainer by this treaty. The construction of his works was attended with an expenditure of human misery of which we can scarcely conceive. The buildings which he erected were more numerous than

(33) See *Uarda*, ch. xxxiv.

(34) *Egypt under the Pharaohs;* II, 76.

those of all the other kings of Egypt for two thousand years, and they required him to press into his service all the population he could venture to enslave. It fills the mind with horror to think of the thousands of prisoners or forced laborers who must have died under the blows of their drivers, or under the weight of privations and toil, which were often suffered without any intermission, days and nights together being sometimes consumed without any rest. Even the native population had to suffer. A letter of the period is still extant which tells how the tax-collector at the wharf of the district was accustomed to receive the government share of the crops. His men were armed with clubs and with batons of palmwood, crying out "Where is thy wheat?" There was no way of checking their exactions. If they were not satisfied with the government share the poor wretch was seized, thrown upon the ground, bound and dragged off to the canal at hand, where he was thrown in. His wife was bound, and she and his children enslaved. The tasks to which these slaves were set included all that the plans of Rameses demanded. They were marched in gangs to the quarries to hew out huge blocks of stone. They dragged them with their own arms, like beasts of burden, to their respective destinations, urged on by the lash of the driver. They dug canals; they made bricks and mixed mortar, for the countless buildings always in course of erection; they built dikes along the Nile, and the canals by which its waters were conducted to the lands. We may still see them, in the pictures upon the monuments, naked under the burning sun, working like pieces of

machinery in "all manner of service, in the field wherein they made them serve with rigor." Says an inscription of the period: "It is very hard to make the smooth road on which the Colossus is to slide along; but how unspeakably harder to drag the huge mass like beasts of burden." There was no machinery and little mechanical help. The strain was wholly upon human muscles and sinews. "The arms of the workman," continues the inscription, "are utterly worn out. His food is a mixture of all things vile. He can wash himself only once in a season." The oppression of the Egyptian rulers has always been very great. As late as the reign of Pharaoh Necho 100,000 men were sacrificed in excavating for a single canal. Thirty thousand died in this very century in a similar task, digging out the earth from the trench with their hands, without picks or spades or wheelbarrows.[35]

A recent traveler in Egypt describes a scene illustrating the oppression of the people of Israel in connection with the inauguration of the Suez Canal. A journey was taken across the desert upon an imposing carriageway constructed for the special benefit of the French Empress. The inundation, which was more extensive than usual, had carried away at different points a mile or two of the embankment along the ridge of which the path was laid. Frightful gullies had been washed out and the earth distributed over the plains, and gangs of men, women and children were put to work at the repairs. The writer says:

"All along the way we hurried through them, and there is no doubt we saw the old scenes of the bondage of Israel

[35] *Hours with the Bible;* II, 77.

reproduced on nearly the same soil. There were taskmasters, with stick in hand, squatting lazily on the banks, indolent even in observation, requiring almost to be waked up in order to receive the reckonings reported to them.

There must have been at least two or three thousand people at work. They swarmed over the wide excavations from which they took their earth like so many brown ants bearing sand grains. Each had a small shallow basket on his head. You could not make it hold more than about a peck. These they all filled by scooping up the soil with their hands. Then tossing them up they caught them dextrously upon their heads and walked listlessly over the long way to the place of deposits, tipped them over again and then squatted beside the feeble little heaps to pat them level with their palms. It seemed so insignificant as a piece of actual enterprise that we could hardly believe they were not deep in the laboriousness of our early childhood making dirt pies in sand.

Every now and then one of the unclad creatures would come timidly up to the overseer to report numbers of baskets or hours of time, and with an immense deliberation, the ink-stand at his belt would be unloosed, the reed pen carefully tested on the thumb nail, and the fragment of paper spread out over the left hand to be slowly written upon with the right, as the tally was entered. If anything seemed short, a quick rush of rage filled the taskmaster's cheek and the whack of his stick sent the laborer off to his toil.

The spirit of these poor creatures was intensely desolate, their countenances seemed positively forlorn, everything was hopeless, and the uneasy sense of wrath in some of the eyes as they saw rich people lying at ease upon satin cushions in their equipages, was harsh with menace for the future of Egypt.

I heard one of the fellaheen songs which Dean Stanley describes. Egypt never changes, and the sympathetic ear can listen to the same moans that Moses heard. There on the same soil one often sees the whip and shrinks from the whistling crack of it as it falls on the bare back of man or maiden, boy or girl; and there is the muttering of the same old taunting strain under one's breath, full of wild revenge and of hissing hatred, the moment a poor creature is just out of earshot of the tormentors: 'The chief of the village, the chief of the village!

may the dogs tear him, tear him in pieces! The chief of the village, may the dogs tear him, tear him!'" (36)

But we can scarcely believe that such misery even as this approached in depth and severity the misery of the captive Israelites. The Scripture says that "the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigor." The word "rigor" is an unusual one. Moses employs it only in two connections. According to the dictionaries it is a medical term signifying a sudden coldness attended by shivering, a convulsive shuddering with tightening of the skin, that last stiffening of the muscles which follows dissolution, the unfailing sign of death, the *rigor mortis*. The sense of the Hebrew word is thus correctly conveyed, and indicates a degree of pain beyond the comprehension of those who have never seen such bondage as that to which the Israelites were subjected.

EGYPTIAN IDOLATRY.

So again there began to appear another illustration of the "fullness of time." The Hebrews had suffered until their agonies became intolerable, and had learned therein the lessons of their bitter schooling. All things were ready for their deliverance. But on the part of the Egyptians, and in order to complete the "fullness," the moral debasement and blasphemous assumptions of their oppressors was now such as to demand a rebuke from the God of the Hebrews, and in the face of their defiance of his divine authority to make his power and glory known.

The mighty warrior and statesman, whose life was

(36) *Every Thursday;* Vol. 2, No. 11.

now drawing to a close, intoxicated with his power, had presumed to lord it not only over the citizens of the earth, but over the whole pantheon of heaven as well. He had deified himself. The very priests of Egypt which heretofore seemed to have governed the country, were now governed by their deified sovereign. His is the colossal figure that sits repeated again and again at the entrance of every temple. He is the frontispiece of every gate-way, to whom the gods delivered the sword of destruction with the command to "slay." His image in the interior of the temple is brought into the most familiar relations with the highest powers, their equal in form and majesty, sitting beside them arm in arm in the recesses of the most holy places. The one king who towers above all the others in the long succession of Egyptian monarchs as the great promoter, as well as the great object of idolatry, is Rameses II., the oppressor of the Israelites.

But as it had been in Chaldæa at the time of Abraham's migration, and as it was subsequently in similar junctures, this culmination of political power and of idolatry was accompanied by excessive immorality. The religious rites of the Egyptians were most debasing in their effects upon the popular character. How could it be otherwise with those who adored such animals as the crocodile, the beetle, the ape and the serpent. Such creatures were regarded as sacred. Priests were maintained in their honor, magnificent temples built for their reception, grand festivals held in their praise, and popular lamentations made at their death. To kill one was a capital crime. Long after the time of which we are speaking, Clement of Alexandria

expressed the feeling of the outside world towards this strange religion. He said:

"The holy places of the temples are hidden by great veils of cloth of gold. If you advance towards the interior of the building, you see a statue of the god. A priest comes to you with a grave air, chanting a hymn, and lifts a corner of the gorgeous curtain to show you the divinity. But what do you see? A cat, a crocodile, a serpent, or some other dangerous animal. The god of the Egyptians appears. It is a beast, tumbling about upon a carpet of purple!"

Strabo gives an account of his visit to a certain sacred crocodile. He says:

"Our host took cakes, broiled fish, and a drink prepared with honey; and went towards the lake. The brute lay on the bank whither the priests went to him. Two of them opened its jaws and a third put into its mouth first the cakes, then the fish, and finally poured the drink down its throat."

In the days of Moses rich people spent immense sums on the funeral of a sacred cat. Their household had its sacred bird which fed with the family during its life, and was carefully embalmed and buried with with them after its death.[37] The holiest thing in Thebes was the heart of a ram.[38]

It is no wonder that the race which honored such divinities sunk into the deepest degradation. If these were their gods, what could they believe themselves to be? Their king, who had assumed divine prerogatives, treated them as his slaves. If any portion of the soil were left to them it was an act of pure grace. In fact, there were no "people" in Egypt; but only the king, priests and slaves. There was no sympathy for the suffering multitudes, and the multitudes, sunk

(37) *Hours with the Bible;* II, 61.
(38) See *Uarda*, ch. xxiii.

in their unspeakable misery, sought compensation in immorality. The whole race gave the reign to their baser passions, for why should a man be better than his gods? Unnatural vice prevailed. Universal and open impurity marked their great religious festivals. They became beasts themselves. Thus the blasphemy of Pharaoh, the iniquity of his people, and the misery of the Hebrews together attained their extreme limit; and now in this city of Tanis, in which Joseph had ruled as regent, and in which Rameses, the deified king, defies all gods but himself, the Almighty will declare himself. His messenger will soon appear before the son of Rameses with the startling demand: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, let my people go."

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Chapter IV.

THE ADOPTION OF ISRAEL.

The old Jewish proverb declares: "When the tale of bricks is doubled, Moses comes." The proverb contains a more profound principle than that which is ordinarily found therein. It does not mean merely this: that deliverance often arises just when misery is most abject. Such, indeed, is not always the case. But inasmuch as the "tale of bricks" was imposed by special divine permission and for a special purpose; and inasmuch as Moses was God's own ambassador, whose coming was directly connected with the same purpose for whose accomplishment the tale of bricks was doubled, the proverb teaches that in the providence of God the divine intervention in behalf of his people and his truth is so timed as to correspond with the supreme arrogance of falsehood and the extreme insolence of iniquity. This constitutes the "fullness of time," not only in that final juncture to which the term is ordinarily applied, but also in those less important instances which prefigure it and prepare its way.

We have now arrived at the second great illustration of the principle, and are prepared to observe the method of the divine intervention. The tale of bricks has been doubled; Moses is about to appear.

THE TRAINING OF MOSES.

It is not necessary to dwell on those details of the life of Moses which are found in the Scripture, as the reader is already familiar with them. The course of divine providence, however, appears the more remarkable when viewed in the light of modern discoveries.

The Scriptural account of the infancy of Moses is confirmed by a romantic story contained in the clay tablets of Mesopotamia, whence his ancestry was derived. It runs thus:

"I am Sargon, the great king. My mother was of the masters of the land; but I never knew my father. I was born secretly on the banks of the Euphrates. My mother put me in an ark of bullrushes lined with bitumen, and laid me in the river which did not enter the ark. It bore me to the dwelling of Akki, the water-carrier, and he, in the goodness of his heart, lifted me from the water and brought me up as his own son. After this he established me as a gardener and Ishtar caused me to prosper, and after many years I came to be king."(1)

It may be that Jochebed, the mother of the infant Moses, had preserved this story among the traditions of her father's house—this Sargon being the king during whose reign Abraham left Chaldæa. There has not yet been discovered any extended notice of Moses among the Egyptian records, though there is an unquestioned reference to him in the name of an island in middle Egypt which is called Ien-Moshe, the "Island of Moses." The place is mentioned in the reign of Rameses III., about one hundred years after the death of the great Rameses.

The daughter of the king, however, the foster-mother of Moses, is mentioned, and her history is tolerably

(1) *Hours with the Bible;* II, 91.

THE HOUSE OF SETI.

well known. Rameses had in all sixty sons and fifty-nine daughters, of which twenty-three sons and thirteen daughters were by his wives. The foster-mother of Moses was one of the youngest of the latter. Her name, according to the monuments, was Meri or Merris.[2] She is called by Josephus Thermuthis.[3] She was probably born at Tanis and was only "a young miss," as we would say, when she adopted Moses as her son.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THEBES.

Under the care of Thermuthis the future lawgiver of the Hebrews received the best training which it was possible for an Egyptian princess to bestow upon her son. There can be very little doubt that he received the larger part of his education within the walls of a great building whose remains are still standing at Thebes. This structure was "The House of Seti." It is now known as the temple of Qurnah (or Kourneh). It was founded by Rameses I. soon after he had seized upon the Egyptian throne, but was carried to completion by his son, Seti I., whose name it consequently bore. It was the center of a group of buildings, all connected, which served purposes similar to those of a great modern university, except that in the House of Seti theology was taught as the central and supreme science. Great sums had been expended in the establishment of this university, and large revenues were required for the maintenance of its priesthood and the support of its various branches. Its founder designed in it to eclipse the glory of the older

(2) *Brugsch;* II, ch. xiv. (3) Antiquities; II, ix.

institutions at Heliopolis and Memphis, and for a time at least it was their successful rival.

In this university all grades were united. There was first an elementary department from which the pupils passed by examination to a still higher school. In this second grade the pupil chose for himself a master in one of the special branches of learning, by whom he was conducted step by step to the completion of his course. Every profession was opened to him, and his preparation for the vocation of his choice could be here obtained. He might become an astronomer, physician, lawyer, or priest; and if he aspired successfully to the highest of all professions and became a "scribe," his fame and fortune were secured. Henceforth he would be supported at royal expense, and thus be free to prosecute his studies without care, for the glory of Egypt and its gods.

Rameses the Great was educated in this university, its chief patron being his own father. We can therefore scarcely imagine anything else than that his daughter's adopted son should be sent to the same school of which he was himself a graduate. Moreover, if Moses was trained "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," his education must have proceeded under the best of care and have extended to many branches represented in the university. It is no disparagement to the special revelation which he received from God in the Holy Mount to believe that the intellectual foundation upon which it was superimposed was laid in Moses' youth while he was in attendance upon the schools of the House of Seti. Indeed we are taught to see herein the special direction of divine provi-

dence that Moses, being "a goodly child" to begin with, should have been adopted by such a woman as Thermuthis and by her sent to the greatest university of the world.

In this university, Moses would have studied the principles of law, medicine, architecture, engineering and theology. Tradition says that he also took a special course in music at Heliopolis. In some branches of science, to be sure, the knowledge of his teachers seems crude compared with the attainments of scholars of our own day.

But the actual proficiency of the professors in the House of Seti is not emphasized in this connection, but only their relative accomplishments. They were the wisest teachers of the age, and Moses sat at their feet. Indeed it is only in the single department of medicine that their science appears ridiculous; yet even in this department both their theory and practice were far from contemptible.

They had given careful attention to every separate organ of the body, except the heart, from the study of which they were restrained by religious scruples. Anatomy had been carefully studied for centuries before Moses saw the light; and, when he entered the House of Seti, it formed only a single branch of a very complex system.

The medical faculty was divided between surgeons, dentists, oculists and other specialists, each giving exclusive attention to his own department. Hygiene in particular, which is ever the larger and more important section of medicine, was taught with the most extensive and intelligent knowledge of its laws.

But whatever may be said with regard to the medicine of the Egyptians, certainly no reflection can be cast upon their knowledge of such arts as engineering and architecture. In all such branches they were experts, nor have they ever been surpassed.[4]

Under such teachers, then, Moses received his education and discipline; and even after the completion of his course he had the opportunity to prosecute his studies still farther in the great consulting libraries of his day. The library of the Ramesseum at Thebes,[5] over the gate of which were inscribed the words, "For the healing of the soul," contained twenty thousand volumes, some of these being rolls one hundred feet in length! It was built, as we have already indicated, by the father of the patroness of Moses. This library is often mentioned in Egyptian records; two of its librarians were sufficiently celebrated to be accorded a pompous burial, and their tombs are still to be seen at Thebes. But this was not the only library in Egypt in the time of Moses. Others are mentioned upon the monuments, which he must have had the privilege of consulting. In fact the temples all contained libraries, many of them including valuable collections.

It appears, then, that the same discrimination which was exercised in the calling of Abraham, and in the designation of other great agents of the Almighty, was displayed in the selection of Moses as the leader of the Hebrew people. When he came to age he was the choicest young man of his day, and every way fitted to become the leader of the people of God out of the

(4) See *Uarda*, ch. ii, and *Homiletic Review;* Vol. XIX, Nos. 1 and 3.
(5) A plan of the building is found in *Brugsch*, II, xiv.

house of Egyptian bondage. He had inherited the Jewish faith to which was united an Egyptian training. He had been invested with Egyptian honors. In his address before the council Stephen remarks that Moses was not only "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," but that he was also "mighty in words and in deeds."(6) Josephus claims that he conducted a successful campaign against the Ethiopians, in which he overcame peculiar obstacles and superior numbers by a series of ingenious strategems.(7) According to the Jewish tradition he was even designated as the successor of the Egyptian high-priest, in which capacity he would have exercised an influence second only to that of the king, and in many respects superior to his.

By such means, therefore, Moses knew not only his own people, the Hebrews, but he knew their oppressors as well, from the king on the throne to the priests in their temples, and to the very laborers in the field. He knew luxury and misery equally well. His sympathy with his own people had taught him much concerning the sufferings which he had never himself endured, while he was intimately acquainted with the ruling house and the royal priesthood, understanding their principles and their policy.

THE CHOICE OF MOSES.

But, "It came to pass when Moses was grown that he went out unto his brethren and looked on their burdens."(8) It is not possible for us to put into words the full force of Scripture with regard to the decision

(6) Acts, vii: 22.
(7) Antiquities; II, 10.
(8) Ex. ii: 11.

which was then effected—the anxiety of his parents and relations who had watched his course from infancy; the hopes that centered in him; the doubt as to his course of procedure when he arrived at manhood, and the issue of it all. Who could prophecy in advance that when Moses came to years he would "refuse to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter?"[9]

We know how we are affected in our own age by circumstances somewhat similar. The period of youth is like the early days of spring. There is little evidence of life in the trees and flowers and grass about us, and we are unconscious of the silent forces that are at work in root and branch and bud, all tending unto and waiting for their magnificent unfolding. But some day—it seems as though it all took place in an hour—a mighty change is apparent and nature gives one glorious "leap from April into June." The wind changes to the south, the clouds roll up mass upon mass, the echoing thunders sound the trumpet call of the victorious forces of the summer season, and the warm rain falls like heavenly mercies on the waiting earth. When the clouds break away again it is bright and balmy; the grass is green, the buds have broken, the birds are singing, the whole face of nature is changed, and we exclaim, "Summer has come at last." So with the boy when he "comes to years;" just so silently and yet so surely the mysterious forces work to what seems to be a sudden transformation, and some day the anxious mother, whose solicitous eye has only now discerned the mighty change, says to her husband: "Husband, our boy has become a man." It seems to have

[9] Heb., xi: 24.

been accomplished in a moment, but what a moment! How interesting, how eventful! What influences date from that supreme point in life; what plans, purposes, ambitions, conclusions. It represents the high divide of the whole continent of life from which the watershed of its every current is determined, the streams that flow this way or that toward the two eternities—the eternity of blessing or of woe.

"By faith Moses, when he came to years"—it was the crisis of his life. We can imagine him awaking one morning in the palace of his king, with the question, which had been before so vague and shapeless, confronting him in clear and vast proportions: "Hebrew or Egyptian, which?" and he must answer now. By faith did he answer. He refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. By and by he determined to go out unto his brethren. He went; he looked upon their burdens; he saw a task-master strike a brother Hebrew; he heard the swash of the descending lash; he saw the blood spurt from the quivering flesh; he heard the stifled groan, as the slave sank down in agony upon the sand.

His answer took still clearer form. His mind expanded to its true dimensions in that awful moment. He cast one swift glance this way and that; took one swift step forward; dealt one swift but ponderous blow and the persecuting Egyptian fell before the persecuted slave, at the hand of the son of Pharaoh's daughter. We do not justify the act, but only the decision which it illustrated. It was the making of Moses. Though he was full forty years of age, not till then did he

come to his majority; but now his life is irrevocably determined. He, too, is a Hebrew.

MOSES IN MIDIAN: HIS COMMISSION.

In the providence of God this strange circumstance was permitted, in order to prepare Moses for another period of discipline, as essential to his work as that which had preceded it. He must now pass a certain period in retirement, and he flees to Midian. Forty years more are spent by him in exile. During these years he learned the ways of the wilderness, as he had previously learned the ways of the great metropolis. The mountain paths and fastnesses of the desert through which he was to lead the people of God, became as familiar to him as the streets of the royal city of Tanis. He made the acquaintance of the tribes who occupied its scattered oases. Ebers—and doubtless very justly—makes him to have been intimately acquainted even with the slaves who toiled in the mines of the Emerald Hathor, in the very neighborhood wherein he kept the flock of Jethro, the Midianite, his father-in-law.[10]

But the particular lesson which he was here to learn was his true relation not so much to the Hebrew people as to their God. Moses was the first monk, and Midian was the first monastery. But it was not designed that the monk should remain in the monastery except for so long a period as should be necessary to develop the spiritual man, that by his long unmolested meditation in the desert he might receive such a training as should fit him to be of service to others.

(10) *Uarda*, xxxiv.

When this period of training drew to a close the Almighty appeared to him and gave him his commission. His doubts were removed, his confidence was established, he was assured of the special power and protection of Jehovah, and sent back to the land from which he had fled forty years ago with this demand upon his lips: "Let my people go."

So Moses returned to Egypt prepared for his work. He had been drilled in private under the eye of his Almighty teacher. He was to perform no mere experiments. The first demand of the king was to be met upon the instant. "Show a miracle for you," and he was to cast the same rod before the king which he had previously cast on the ground at the command of God on the slopes of Horeb, to be again transformed before the eye of the astonished king. God had related to him specifically the various tasks which were to be performed, and even rehearsed him in some of the signs which were to be performed in connection with them, and had then given him this injunction: "When thou goest to return into Egypt, see that thou do all those wonders before Pharaoh which I have put in thine hand." (11)

CONDITION OF EGYPTIAN AFFAIRS.

The state of Egypt upon his return was providentially adapted to the purpose of his mission. Mineptah II., the son of the great Rameses, sat upon the throne. He was one of the younger members of the great family—the fourteenth son. A strange fatality seems to have attended the house of Rameses, due in part at

(11) Ex. iv: 21.

least to the incestuous character of his marriages; and it so befell that his heirs died one after another until the scepter of the great warrior passed into hands altogether incompetent to wield it. History would have been very differently written had Rameses' own choice succeeded to the throne. His son Khamus held the first place in his father's confidence and affection. He was early nominated by his father to the high-priesthood of Ptah at Memphis, and is immortalized in his own works, as in other monumental records, as a learned and pious prince. Even though he had never abandoned the priesthood and personally ascended the throne, yet had he lived to counsel his younger brother he might have succeeded in preserving the integrity of the empire.

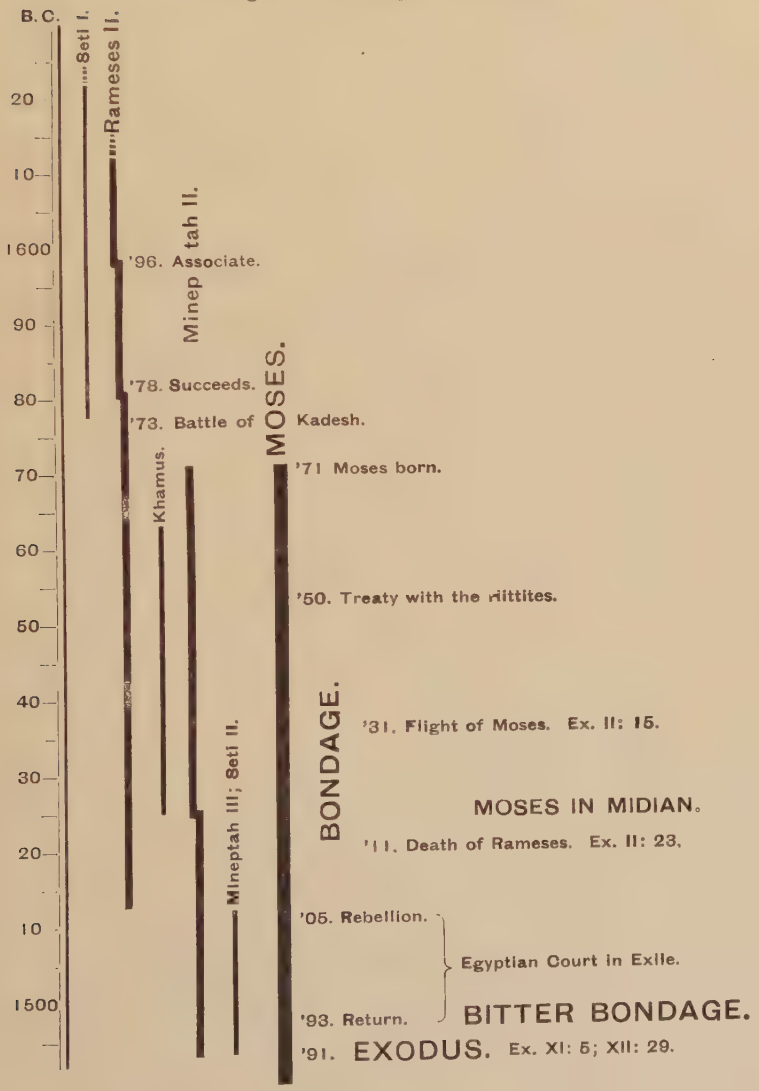
But Khamus died twelve years before his father, and when Rameses passed away he left no worthy successor among his remaining children.[12] Mineptah was soon dispossessed of the better part of his kingdom. The descendants of the Hyksos succeeded in turning the tables upon the native Egyptians, wasted the cities of the Delta with fire and sword, plundered its temples, and destroyed the images of its gods. Mineptah was unable to stay the tide, and retreated with his followers to the south, where he spent twelve years in exile. At last, however, his son Mineptah III., Seti II., came to his majority, and was associated with his father in the government. This young man very early displayed the warlike qualities of his grandfather, and when he was only eighteen years of age began a series of campaigns which were soon

(12) Brugsch, Vol. II, ch. xiv.

THE BONDAGE AND THE EXODUS.

PROBABLE HARMONY
OF
THE BIBLE AND THE MONUMENTS.

Arranged for the Marginal Chronology.



ended in the re-conquest of his father's lost territory. This was two years before the return of Moses.

The restoration of Mineptah and of his greater son to power was, however, the re-enslavement of the Israelites, and from this event must be dated those severer sorrows which provoked the groans of the people of God and called for his divine intervention. These last two years may be regarded as the period of their special affliction, compared to which the years which went before are scarcely to be considered. The Scripture itself indicates that the bitter bondage began with the king who came to the throne while Moses was in Midian. We read: "And it came to pass in process of time that the king of Egypt died, and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage."[13] This king was Rameses; his death occurring twenty years after the flight of Moses.[14] Then came his son Mineptah. But, as we have seen, for twelve years out of the twenty during which he ruled he was a fugitive. Mineptah had, therefore, been upon the ancient throne of his fathers but two short years when Moses appeared to confront him.

The returning Hebrew was his own reputed brother, who had been afterwards discovered to be himself one of the serfs. He had disappeared during the preceding reign, and no tidings had been received concerning him for forty years. But here he is back in Egypt again, and in the presence of her king, uttering his stern demand: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, let my people go."

[13] Exodus ii: 23.
[14] See Chart, p. 103.

At this point in our studies the exact nature of the conflict which we are now approaching should be distinctly understood. This is the more important, since in each succeeding illustration of the "fullness of time" substantially the same elements appear; and in the final juncture (as we shall see when we come to consider it) appear in the most emphatic form.

The nature of the conflict was foreshadowed in the words of the Lord himself when, commissioning Moses in Midian, he directed him to say to Pharaoh: "Israel is my son, even my first-born; and I say unto thee, let my son go, that he may serve me; and if thou refuse to let him go, behold I will slay thy son, even thy first-born." (15) Apart from the premonition of judgment contained in this warning there is a particular meaning connected with it which must be clearly apprehended, or its special significance will escape the reader.

Although Jehovah was the Only Living and True God, he had never had a people of his own in the earth. The nations were devoted each respectively to their particular gods. Ishtar had her people in the country from which Abraham, the father of the faithful, had emigrated; and in later times Bel, Baal, Rimmon and Dagon had their peculiar people devoted to their service. Jehovah is the God of the whole earth, and insists upon being so regarded, yet will he also have his peculiar people, chosen by himself, to maintain his worship and perpetuate his truth. The time has arrived when this peculiar people shall be formally designated. God is now about to publicly recognize

(15) Ex. iv: 22, 23.

them as his own, and to declare in such a way as that it shall be known not only in Egypt, but throughout the earth, that the Hebrews have received from him the "adoption of sons." Be it remembered that they had not before been known as such. They themselves had never aspired to such a distinguished title. They understood at least, in a measure, the nature of the "Everlasting Covenant" made with Abraham, their father, and believed themselves to be the chosen people of God. But *sons!* this was a relation to the Almighty of which they had never dreamed. It was not, therefore, their conception, nor that of Moses, their leader, but the conception of God only. When he commissioned Moses in Midian he vouchsafed to him a new revelation, by right of which Israel was to enjoy signal promotion—he would confer upon his covenant people the divine adoption.

Heretofore the Hebrews had been in no condition to receive or improve this privilege. The uniform course of the divine tuition is indicated by Paul in his epistle to the Galatians:[16] "The heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors, until the time appointed of the father." This principle, though applied by the apostle to the tuition of the Law for the freedom of the Gospel, yet receives complete illustration in the history of Israel at the period upon which we are engaged. Israel was "under tutors and governors" in Egypt.

But "the time appointed of the father" has now arrived, redemption from bondage is at hand, and the

(16) Gal. iv: 1.

"adoption of sons" will be formally constituted. This, then, is what Jehovah means when he instructs Moses to say to Pharaoh: "Israel is my son, even my first-born."

Upon the other hand the deification of the kings of Egypt, while it was displayed in a number of forms, yet assumed one form in particular. Rameses the Great, who was the first Egyptian sovereign to distinctly assume the honors and titles of divinity, while he claimed to exercise divine prerogatives as the representative of a whole pantheon of divinities, yet assumed as his chief title "The Son of Ra." Ra was the principal divinity of Egypt. The sun was his embodiment and symbol. Mineptah II., succeeding to the throne of Rameses, succeeded also to his divine honors. He also represented himself to be the son of Ra, and the vice-gerent of the god upon earth. When, therefore, Moses appeared before Mineptah with this challenge and warning upon his lips it was equivalent to his saying to the king that the Israelites, whom that king was oppressing, and who now appeared before him in the person of their leader, stood in the same relation to their God, Jehovah, as that which Mineptah claimed to sustain to his god, the supreme divinity of Egypt. We might, therefore, call the conflict just now to be inaugurated a grand *duel*, except that the word implies a struggle between two parties who are approximately equal. In every other respect, however, it was to be a duel. Jehovah, represented by Moses, challenged the divinities of Egypt represented by Mineptah. Mineptah had been engaged in such persecution of the people of Israel, Jehovah's first-born, as threatened

their extermination, and now Jehovah distinctly warned him that if extreme measures must be resorted to, then the first-born of Ra should himself be sacrificed in order to the redemption of his own. This is the probable meaning of the second clause of the sentence which Jehovah put into the mouth of Moses: "If thou refuse to let him go, behold I will slay thy son, even thy first-born."

We are now prepared to understand the nature of the conflict. Jehovah will first proceed against the lesser divinities of Egypt—if perhaps the heart of Pharaoh may be softened, and he be persuaded to let the Israelites go. The judgment of the Almighty will therefore be directed at the beginning against the sacred river and against the god from whom it was supposed to proceed. Following this, against those divinities of the Egyptians which were represented by their insect idols. Following this in turn, against their sacred cattle, of which the gods were supposed to have taken possession. Following this, against those greater gods that presided over the elements. And finally, if Pharaoh still insists upon hardening his heart and defying Jehovah, against Ra himself, the supreme divinity. It will be shown that Ra has no power to give light to the proud oppressors of the Lord's people, and awful darkness shall fall upon the land. If even this is not sufficient to teach the unrelenting king the infinite superiority of the Living God, the final judgment shall be visited upon the very son of Ra himself, and the first-born of the king, who is also esteemed the son of Ra, shall be sacrificed.

It would seem that the Israelites from the very first

understood the nature of the conflict. Even though this distinct apprehension of the situation may have been confined at first to the leaders of the people, yet subsequently, under the instruction of the prophets, the entire people of God were made to understand it. Long after the Exodus, Isaiah described the situation, when, speaking in the name of Jehovah and endeavoring to awaken his recreant people to some sense of their obligations, he recalls the destruction of the Egyptian first-born in order that the Lord's first-born might be redeemed from their bondage, saying: "I gave Egypt for thy ransom."[17] Hosea also refers to their adoption in words which are at once both history and prophecy: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt."[18]

THE COURSE OF THE CONFLICT.

Events proceeded therefore according to the word of the Lord. Moses appeared before the king. Mineptah demanded a miracle in confirmation of his claims. The miracle was furnished. Thereupon the king called for his magicians and commanded them to show a similar miracle, in order that the claims of Moses might be set aside.

These magicians bear in Scripture the Hebrew name *khartummim*, which, in spite of its Hebrew complexion, is derived from an Egyptian word, *khartot*. Rameses II., as already shown, had erected temples in honor of a circle of divinities called "the gods of Rameses." The king caused himself to be thereby honored with a religious worship, and the texts of the

[17] Is. xliii: 3. [18] Hosea xi: 1.

later age make mention of the "god-king Rameses, surnamed the Very Valiant." The services of these temples were conducted by certain priests who bore each the name of *khar-tot*, that is, "the warrior." The origin of the appellation, which seems strange when applied to persons apparently so peaceful, is explained by the character of the Egyptian myths concerning the warrior divinities of the cities of Rameses.[19]

The Apostle Paul has given us the names of two of these magicians, Jannes and Jambres.[20] The arts which they practiced were inherent in the ancient Egyptian religion. Its ritual consisted of a system of incantations with the object of securing future happiness for the disembodied soul. These incantations did not absolutely insure this happiness, but it could not be secured without them. Great secrecy was maintained by the priests in the practice of this system. It was upheld by a gorgeous ritual and taught in a multitude of books to which, doubtless, Moses himself had once had access. It is not necessary for us to describe the system in detail.

The power of the magicians was, however, soon exhausted, and there followed a series of miracles, proceeding in systematic order from the less severe to the more severe, and culminating in the death of the first-born. The first series of plagues (blood, frogs, lice, flies) occasioned only inconvenience. The second series (murrain of beasts and boils of men) produced general sickness. The third series (hail, locusts, darkness), widespread destruction. Then followed the tenth plague of death.

(19) Brugsch, II, p. 384. (20) 2 Tim. iii:8.

The king's manner during the progress of these plagues is exceedingly suggestive. His manner is marked by a certain sullenness. But as the plagues become more severe in character he endeavors by partial promises, which he did not intend to keep, to divert Moses from his purpose. Observing his vacillation, and remembering the inherent weakness of his character, we can scarcely resist the conclusion that his is a case of "the power behind the throne." Mineptah acts like a puppet. Where is the hand that pulls the strings? His promises and retractions are in every way similar to those of later kings whose very consciences were kept by some cardinal or prime minister, or other person better calculated to rule than the monarch himself. Who can help recalling in this connection the case of Charles IX., his mother Catherine de Medici, the protestants of France, and St. Bartholomew? Who was the Catherine in this instance? Who could it have been but that imperious, stalwart son of Mineptah, his co-regent, by whose very power he sits upon his throne? The Scripture refers to the influence of Pharaoh's "servants." Is there not some reference also to his chief servant, his own son? If it be so, we shall find terrible significance in the result of the tenth plague, in which that son himself was sacrificed.

At last, however, the time came when all reconciliation was seen to be impossible. "The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart and he would not let them go." And Pharaoh said unto Moses: "Get thee from me; take heed to thyself; see my face no more, for in that day thou seest my face thou shalt die." And Moses said: "Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face no more."

This incident is dramatic in the extreme. Pharaoh is at last brought to bay. He has offered every concession he can make—still keeping hold upon his rebellious servants; but they have all been declined. At last he is forced to grant permission to the Israelites to go, but upon condition that they go empty-handed, leaving their flocks and herds behind. Moses answers that they cannot sacrifice without sacrifices, and that they cannot live without food. "Our cattle also shall go with us. There shall not a hoof be left behind." And then it seems for the first time to have dawned upon the dull mind of this miserable monarch that what the Israelites were planning was not a mere holiday excursion, but an absolute exodus. They intended to emigrate; they expected to go out to return no more. He was roused to a sense of the situation. He reasoned just as others have reasoned in like circumstances. If this was their expectation, they must be disappointed. He had already made them a liberal offer. If it is not accepted they shall have nothing whatsoever. The king understands the condition of the case at last. He perceives that the demand of Moses is unconditional; so also shall his answer be. Moses asks to be allowed to depart with the men, with the women and with the little children, with the sheep and with the oxen; in short, with all the belongings of his people. "No," says the king. This is his answer, sharp, plain, final. "No! not only will I not grant this request, but I will not grant any. I retract all that I have said. I will not even listen to you again. Get thee from me; take heed to thyself; see my face no more, for in that day thou seest my face thou shalt

die." And Moses, with that massive dignity which characterizes him throughout the entire story, answers: "Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face again no more." That was the end of it. Pharaoh himself had shut the door to all further consideration of the case, with Moses, the Israelites and the Lord God himself upon its outside.

The king kept his word. He had no chance to break it, because Moses kept his word as he had promised, and the two never met again. Pharaoh, indeed, rose up in the night of the last plague and called for Moses and Aaron and bade them begone with all their people; but it appears upon reading the passage attentively that the message must have been sent to Moses at the hand of some official, as the account indicates very plainly that Moses lost no time in a visit to the palace of the king.

A few more days remained, the calm before the hurricane. Moses was gone, Aaron was silent, God was waiting. Then came that awful night when all the first-born died, "from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat upon his throne even unto the first-born of the maid-servant that was behind the mill." Mineptah Seti himself, in the flower of his youth, as the Egyptian monuments show—the young warrior, his father's associate, the hope of the royal house, perished, and with him perished the power of the old Egyptian monarchy. The obscurity in the prophecy quoted in the last paragraph has been recently cleared. It has been very plainly shown that the words, "*that sitteth upon his throne*," refer not to Pharaoh, but to this son who shared his sovereignty. The untimely end of

Mineptah III. is narrated in a number of epitaphs and funeral dirges found in different localities, and there is no more pathetic language to be found in all the Egyptian records.[21]

DELIVERANCE.

The period between the ninth and tenth plague was passed by the Israelites in preparation for their journey. Definite instructions were given to them by Moses which were obeyed to the letter, and all things were ready for the greatest event save one in their history. The days passed slowly by. There was profound quiet in the splendid city of Tanis, for the Hebrew question which had so troubled the monarch and his court was at last settled. Settled as the king regarded it, and as he supposed Moses regarded it. No word had come from the adjoining province of Goshen, and the affairs of the great empire seemed to move on as they had done before the disturbance.

How many days passed we cannot determine, but sufficient to convey to all the Israelites throughout Goshen and the adjoining sections over which they had spread, instructions with regard to the Passover and the movements of the Israelites which should follow it.

The appointed night arrived. The blood of the lamb was sprinkled upon the door-posts; his flesh was eaten; the meal was just over; it was midnight. Suddenly the word was given. The Angel of Death had done his work; they must arise and be off at once, losing not a moment by the way. And the mighty

[21] See article by *Prof. Paine, Century Magazine*, Sept., 1889.

multitude started just as they were, all their worldly possessions, even to their unleavened dough, done up in bundles and thrown over their shoulders, out into the night and off into freedom!

Silently they moved through the streets of the stricken capital, whose people, powerless in their sudden sorrow, did not disturb them, but rather urged them to be off, and loaded them with presents to hasten their departure. Straight towards the east rolled the mighty multitude, like a great torrent, swelling, as it flowed, with the streams which poured into it by the way. The moon was in the zenith, its clear, full face shining down upon them through the cloudless Egyptian sky and lighting them upon their journey. They trod with firm and elastic step, for there was not a single feeble person in all their tribes.[22] Their flocks and herds moved with them, but there was no interruption, not a single spear was pointed at them, not a single challenge delayed them, and as God himself had prophesied with minute particularity, not so much as a single dog came forth to "move his tongue against them" or snap his teeth at the heels of their yearling lambs. Egypt was busy with its dead. Man and beast alike were occupied with their grief. "God had made a way for his anger," and the "pestilence"[23] had made a swath for the highway of his people. The words which were not to be spoken until long afterwards by the prophet Isaiah received their most significant illustration: "The day of vengeance is in mine heart and the year of my redeemed is come."[24]

[22] Ps. cv: 37. [23] Ps. lxxviii: 50. [24] Is. lxiii: 4.

EFFECT UPON EGYPT.

Egypt did not recover from this catastrophe for two generations. Mineptah III., Seti II., by whose prowess his father had regained his lost territory, was dead. Pharaoh had lost his strong right arm. The power of the monarch was broken. The Exodus was but the beginning of the old man's troubles. His subjects rebelled against him, allies revolted, a near relative accomplished a division of the empire and reigned as anti-king; and in the multitude of sorrows which accumulated upon his devoted head, its gray hairs were brought down in sorrow to the grave. His grandson, a son of Mineptah Seti, reigned over a dismembered kingdom, and not until the accession of his great-grandson, Rameses III., was Egypt again restored to its place of political power and glory.[25]

Thus sixty-six years passed away. Meanwhile the people of God had passed safely through the wilderness, crossed the Jordan, conquered the land of Canaan, partitioned it among the tribes, and were peacefully enjoying their possessions.

EFFECT UPON ISRAEL.

The Exodus was the birth of the Hebrew nation, and they ever looked back upon that first Passover night as the initial point in their political history. They went down into Egypt little better than nomads. They had been accustomed to moving about from place to place with their tents and their cattle, and so long as the patriarchs remained in Canaan they

[25] *Brugsch;* II, xiv.

were expressly forbidden to erect any permanent dwellings. They emerged from Egypt a nation of agriculturists and with a very considerable acquisition of culture. The rude shepherds had been trained by teachers of the foremost nation of the world, and that in its most brilliant period. They carried away with them a very considerable acquaintance with its arts and literature. We find them immediately after the Exodus engaged in certain pursuits which they never practiced in patriarchal times. They could execute delicate work in gold and silver, in wood and stone. They were skilled in weaving, embroidering and dyeing. They knew how to cut, set and engrave precious stones. The Egyptian bondage gave to Israel such men as Joshua, the great soldier; Phineas, the great diplomat; Bezaleel and Aholiab, skilled artificers in wood, stone and the textile fabrics; and, above all, Moses, the greatest jurist of the ages. These names, however, stand but at the head of the list. There were many beside them skilled in the same arts, though occupying inferior positions. These accomplishments fitted the Hebrews to take possession of the land of Canaan and to colonize it as permanent settlers, with a high degree of civilization and a settled government.

But the Almighty had other lessons still in reserve. They must pass from the final grade of the Egyptian school to a more advanced grade than that which it was possible for the Pharaohs to conduct. The Exodus, therefore, is not the end of the course, but only that of its preparatory department. We follow them therefore into the Wilderness.

Chater V.

THE DISCIPLINING OF ISRAEL.

The Israelites were now graduated from the school of Egypt, but their training was not complete. Indeed, its most important elements were yet to be received. They were by no means ready to take possession of the promised land and enter upon their peculiar mission. The lessons which they had learned in Egypt were for the most part of a very general character, and would have fitted them only for a general influence such as that which Egypt herself exercised in the work of civilization. The people of God must be taught certain special lessons fitting them to wield a special influence upon all mankind when the time should arrive in the providence of God for its exercise. We may then compare the advance in the tuition which they were now to receive to that which occurs in the training of a young man when he passes from college to the professional school. His college course has fitted him only for life in general. His professional training shall fit him for the particular avocation which he is to pursue. So Israel was not led at once into their promised inheritance, but was turned aside for a time into the wilderness. The immediate reason for this digression was given by the Lord himself in a passage in which we are told that "When Pharaoh had let the people go, God led them not

through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near, for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war and they return to Egypt."(1)

It is true that immediately upon their exodus they were altogether unprepared to encounter a well-disciplined enemy; but that there were other and deeper reasons than the immediate one is apparent to those who read their history. They were to receive in the wilderness not only a military training, but a training of the most profound character, both political and moral.

THE WILDERNESS.

In the forty years during which the Israelites sojourned in the wilderness, indeed, we might say in the first three years of this period, all those elements by which they were distinguished from other nations as a peculiar people were acquired. This period, therefore, has a special bearing upon their entire history. They were at the outset converted, or rather reconverted to the faith of Jehovah, and thence progressed in the knowledge of that faith with special reference to the peculiar part which they were to play in preparing the world for the Redeemer. Their life during all of this time had its faults and its shortcomings, and as we read the account of their journeyings we are often amazed at their dullness, unbelief and ingratitude; but when we remember the condition of serfdom out of which they had but just emerged, and during which they had received no systematic instruction in the things of God, and then compare it with their condition upon their

(1) Exodus xiii: 17.

entrance to Canaan, our amazement is of an altogether different kind, and we wonder at the marvelous progress which they had made.

If we except only the elements of that primitive faith which they had received as a heritage from the patriarchs, their entire political, social, ecclesiastical, and spiritual equipment was given them during their first few years in the wilderness. The Scripture is full of references to this important period, and the "Law" then given, is ever set over against the "Gospel" as representing that dispensation which was preparative to the full knowledge of salvation. As the Apostle Paul says, "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ;" so also was the wilderness the great and special school in which they were trained to receive the law.

The scene of this special instruction was well chosen by divine providence. They disappeared for a season from the view of the Gentile world. They were set apart for instruction under the immediate tuition of their God. Their teaching was no longer to be accomplished by intermediate agencies, but by the Great Teacher himself. Therefore they are separated from all their former associations in order that they may no longer be contaminated by idolatrous surroundings, nor misled by false philosophies. They are removed from men that they may have close communion with God. The world shall scarcely obtain a glimpse of them until they emerge from the desert to lay hold of their ancestral land; but then shall they appear, not as the nation that forsook Egypt, but, as it were, a new creation.

There is scarcely a section upon the earth so well suited to the reception of special divine revelation as the wilderness of Sinai. It presents a very marked contrast to the lands of the Delta from which the Israelites had come. Instead of broad and fertile plains with their network of innumerable canals; instead of the fields of waving grain, and the rivers abounding with fish; there were rocky heights, bold precipices, deep gorges, and a landscape which was at all times unutterably wild and bleak. The deep silence of the desert was seldom broken, and its vast solitudes invited them to the consideration of those subjects in which they were now to be instructed.

Before they had left Egypt, as we remember, they were made aware of a very peculiar mission upon which they were about to enter, and for which they had been already brought into close relations with the God of their fathers. The adoption of Israel had been accomplished, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, but its particular terms had not as yet been defined. They were only informed through the revelation of God to Moses that Israel was his first-born, and were thus directed to a certain position in which they should be installed, and a certain portion in store for them, great, peculiar and far-reaching. In the wilderness into which they were now to be led that portion is to be distinctly described, its responsibilities and its purposes unfolded.

PRELIMINARY DISCIPLINE.

Before the Lord shall enter upon the special training which they were to receive, he must prepare them for

its reception by a course of preliminary discipline by means of which they shall be brought into affectionate and confidential relations to himself. They must be taught that Jehovah is specially concerned in their behalf, and that they are altogether dependent upon his power and mercy. They had already received some instruction in these fundamental matters. It must have deeply impressed their minds that during the sufferings of the Egyptians, in consequence of the plagues that were visited upon them, they were themselves exempt. They could not have failed to notice that when the time came for them to leave Egypt, so minute had been the Lord's kind care of them that there was not one feeble person in all their tribes. Before they crossed the Red Sea they were made aware of the special presence of their divine leader in that pillar of cloud and fire [2] which was at once their guiding beacon and their wall of defense. The appearance of this pillar doubtless affected them in a way which does not occur to us who are not familiar with oriental customs. The armies of the eastern kings when upon the march were accustomed to follow signals of fire and smoke which were displayed in their advance. Military leaders were accustomed to burn torches upon tall poles to give a signal for departure. [3] The vast pilgrim caravans of the Mohamedans are still guided in a similar way, and there is an ancient Egyptian inscription which compares a victorious general to a flame streaming in advance of his army. The same figure of speech is also repeated in an old papyrus. When, therefore, the Israelites beheld the pillar of cloud, or of fire, as the case might be,

(2) Exodus xiii: 21. (3) Hours with the Bible, Vol. II, p. 180.

in advance of them, they received notice that their divine Leader had taken command of their hosts, and that they might rely upon his guiding presence. The educational value of this single circumstance can scarcely be overestimated.

The divine concern was still further emphasized in the great miracle which occurred at the passage of the Red Sea. This wonderful interference in their behalf was celebrated in the song of Moses and that of Miriam and her companions,[4] and was frequently recalled in similar terms during the long generations that succeeded.

The preparation for the special revelation and discipline which they were soon to receive was continued in the divine provision for their simplest needs. They received their bread and meat at the hand of God, and when they were thirsty the rock smitten at his command yielded them its refreshing waters. It may here be borne in mind that whereas subsequently they were rebuked and punished for their murmurings, the complaints which they offered in the first weeks of their wanderings were overlooked by their considerate God.

Still further the culmination of their preliminary preparation for special tuition was received when Amalek fell upon their rear and, without provocation, attempted to annihilate them.[5] Their deliverance was effected by the immediate interposition of their God. But the particular advance in method appears in this; that whereas their enemies had been discomfited heretofore without any effort of their own, as when all the first-born of Egypt were slain by the destroying

(4) Exodus xv. (5) Exodus xvii: 8–16. Compare Deut. xxv: 17–19.

angel, or as when the returning waters of the Red Sea covered the horsemen and chariots of Pharaoh; now, upon the contrary, the people themselves became the agents of their God, having been taught sufficient confidence in themselves to be entrusted with a share of what had before been the Lord's exclusive work. But their entire dependence upon their divine Leader is still emphasized. Moses must hold the wonder-working rod toward heaven, and if his arms become weary and fall, Amalek is victorious.

These circumstances, therefore, conveyed to them an invaluable lesson which they had not before learned —the necessity both of their own exertion and of the gracious assistance of their God. They had learned that the government of the Almighty, represented by Moses, was not a mere invention like that of the idols of Egypt. His actual power had been displayed in contrast with the imaginary power of the deities of the people by whom they had been enslaved. He had manifested his presence among them in the fiery pillar, and by his signal interpositions in their behalf. No king could have so cared for them, led them and protected them, and they were now prepared to believe that henceforth this care was to be extended to all the affairs of their national life under certain conditions which the Lord himself would proclaim. So in the third month of their wanderings they are brought to Sinai.

SPECIAL DISCIPLINE.

They are now to receive that special revelation whereby the terms of their adoption shall be made fully known. Here they shall remain eleven months, con-

HOREB; "THE MOUNT OF GOD."

stantly occupied with divine things. It was a long period. God had occasionally spoken to men before; but never before nor after—until the Son of God appeared in the flesh, was he for so long a time engaged with men, without interruption.

We must bear in mind that the preparation of their leader, as well as of themselves, had been long since begun. More than forty years before, Moses had been led by the hand of God into this same section, and here he had spent thus far the half of his life. He was familiar with the locality, and he had also been impressed with its peculiar sacredness. If it is ever important that the leader of a people in a great enterprise, and at a great crisis, should be profoundly convinced of its momentous nature we may well observe that the condition had been fully met in the present instance. On the mountain which Moses was now to ascend he had once turned aside to see the bush that burned with fire while it was not consumed. He had been instructed to put off his shoes from off his feet in recognition of the holiness of the ground which he was treading, and out of the midst of the burning bush he had heard the voice proclaiming the Almighty God by his covenant name, I AM THAT I AM. So now this same Moses, upon his arrival at the Mount of God, is summoned to its utmost height to receive the most important revelation which had been made to man since the days of the patriarchs. It was in these words:

"Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bear you on eagle's wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and

keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine: And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel."(6)

We will here observe that the Lord made special reference to that preliminary preparation for this revelation which we have considered. He had borne his people upon his wings as the eagle bears her young, and in this display of his goodness they were encouraged to enter into covenant with him. The relation which had been foreshadowed in the words of adoption which he had used in Egypt was now to be definitely constituted, and that by a most solemn agreement binding upon both parties. Jehovah was to be to them a father and a king. They were to be at once his subjects and his sons, and they were further to be invested as a nation with the office of a holy priesthood. Herein is contained the first decided intimation of their peculiar mission to the world in the preparation of divine providence for the coming of the Redeemer. The nation was to be a family, a priesthood and a kingdom. As a family they were to typify the whole race which was one day to be taught the fatherhood of God through an adoption of which their own was the shadow and symbol. As a priesthood they were to become the mediators between God and the remainder of the race to whom he was not known. As a kingdom they were to rule upon earth in the high domain of truth and love. Themselves the sons of God, they were to bring in the universal sonship of the race. Themselves redeemed of God, they were to mediate the redemption

(6) Exodus xix: 3–6.

of others. Themselves the citizens of the heavenly King, they were to subdue the earth to his paternal sceptre. All of this is included in the concise language which the Almighty employed, and which he instructed Moses to repeat to the people of Israel; and this is all definite preparation for the coming of the Only Son, the Great High Priest, the Prince of Peace.[7]

Before anything further could be done, however, it must be known whether the people accepted these relations and would be loyal to them. So Moses returned from the mount, called for the elders of the people and laid before them the words which the Lord had commanded him. The words received a very joyful acceptance. The conditions of the divine covenant were enthusiastically adopted. The people with one voice pledged themselves to do all that Jehovah had proposed. "All the people answered together and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do."[8] Thereupon Moses returned to the mountain and reported their acceptance to the Almighty, and the Lord declared that he would now come unto him in a thick cloud, that the people might hear when he spake with him and believe him forever.

The government which was thus instituted is uniformly called by Bible students a "Theocracy." This word is the invention of Josephus, who in his tract against Apion notices a contrast between the customs and laws of the Jews and those which obtained among other people. He says:

"Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and

(7) See *Bible History*, Edersheim, II: 109. (8) Exodus xix: 8.

others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a theocracy, by ascribing authority and power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him as the author of all the good things enjoyed either in common by all mankind or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties." (9)

Josephus's word has been adopted by scholars as the one which upon the whole is best descriptive of the peculiar institutions of the Jews. The Almighty himself described his people as "His house," (10) and the term is adopted by subsequent sacred writers. The Almighty was the head of the house, standing in much the same relation to it as that held by the chief and father of a clan, and exercising absolute sovereignty.

THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT.

Three solemn days elapsed between this definition of the Lord's relation to his people and the further elaboration of the Covenant. The days were occupied with the most impressive services. The people sanctified themselves in the use of certain important ceremonies. Meanwhile bounds were set about the mountain where the glory of the Lord appeared, and they were strictly instructed not to approach it upon the pain of death. Finally, upon the long blast of the trumpet, upon which the people trembled greatly, Moses brought the people out of the camp toward the mount, and as the voice of the trumpet increased, Moses spake and God answered. Thereupon Moses ascended the mountain for the third time. The third time he was instructed to

(9) Contra Apion, II: 17. (10) Numbers xii: 7.

go down to the people and again to charge them not to approach the mountain or attempt to penetrate the cloud in which he was enswathed. So Moses descended and the fourth time returned again. All this was intended to impress the people with the most profound sense of the power and majesty of their invisible God. And now Moses having again ascended the mountain, "God spake all these words" and the Ten Commandments were given.

The impression produced upon the people by the display of God's power in connection with the giving of the law was such that they entreated that God would thereafter speak to them through his servant Moses and not directly as he had done in giving them the law. This request was granted. Although Moses took particular pains to instruct the people that they had no good reason for their fears; that the object of the awful phenomena was not to excite in them any slavish apprehension of consequences, but that reverential awe which would induce them to obey God with the utmost care, and avoid the things which were displeasing to him; nevertheless the people withdrew from the mountain while Moses ascended into the thick darkness of God's immediate presence. He there received certain ordinances which were intended as subordinate laws, explaining at length the obligations imposed by the Ten Commandments. Without entering into their details, we may observe that they were preceded by an indication of the manner in which the worship of God was to be conducted. Next in order followed "the judgments," determining the civil and social position of the Israelites with relation to each other, and

finally their religious position as related to the Lord himself. These judgments begin by defining the personal rights of individuals in the lowest condition of life, male and female slaves, continuing with certain requirements concerning the protection of life, the safety of property, personal purity, and the avoidance of all idolatrous practices. The religious festivals are then announced, the whole concluding with certain promises which were to be fulfilled on condition of obedience.

First and chief, the assurance was given to them of the constant presence of their God in that ANGEL, of whom Jehovah declared "My name is in him." This was no mere angel, but the manifestation of the very presence of the Lord, the "express image of his person," the "Face" of Jehovah. In him the Redeemer for whose sake Israel had been called and trained was personally anticipated, and with the promise of his guiding presence this portion of the special revelation of God to his people is brought to a close.

The whole was written in a book called "The Book of the Covenant,"[11] which was now submitted for adoption. The people were called together early in the morning. An altar was built under the mountain upon which burnt offerings were sacrificed. The blood of the sacrifices was put into basins, half of which was sprinkled upon the altar. Moses then read to the people the words of the Book of the Covenant, and they answered "All that the Lord hath said will we do and will be obedient." The remaining blood was then sprinkled upon the people, and Moses said to them

(11) Exodus xxiv.

"Behold the blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." Its solemn ratification was thus accomplished in keeping with the awful phenomena of its proclamation, and Israel became the Lord's forever.

THE MORAL LAW AND THE CEREMONIAL.

The legislation thus far enacted was a comprehensive unity; but alone it was not sufficient for the full furnishing of that people whose particular mission was the preparation of the world for its Redeemer. It was to serve a mighty purpose; but it is doubtful whether it would have served any purpose whatsoever had it remained alone. It was therefore immediately followed by additional legislation of different but complementary character.

These two bodies of law—each complete in itself, but absolutely interdependent, are known as the Moral Law and the Ceremonial Law. The Moral Law is comprehended in the Ten Commandments, illustrated and expanded in the statutes that follow them, the whole comprising the "Book of the Covenant." The Ceremonial Law embraces the larger part of the remaining portion of Mosaic legislation relating, as its name implies, to ceremony and ritual. The Moral Law contained no direct reference to the coming Redeemer. The Ceremonial Law contained scarcely anything else. Allusions to him in the course of the Moral Law and its attendant statutes are infrequent and incidental, while the allusions to him in the course of the Ceremonial Law are constant and essential. It

is of great consequence therefore that the student comprehend the relations between the two.

The Covenant having been ratified the Lord would now proceed to those particular revelations in which the peculiar mission of Israel should emphatically appear. Moses was again called up into the mount. For six days he was prevented from ascending to its utmost peak by the transcendent glory which covered it; but on the seventh he was summoned into the presence of God. He remained there forty days and forty nights receiving the additional revelation.

This revelation covered three important matters, the tabernacle, the priesthood and the celebration of religious services. Every feature of all these pointed to the coming Redeemer and were intended to be the means of preparing his way. These features we are forbidden to examine by the limits of our book, but the student of providential history can not afford to neglect them. They signified in general, that access to God and fellowship with him had been forfeited through sin, and could only be restored through the mediation of a great and holy High-priest, offering an acceptable sacrifice.

The structure and furniture of the tabernacle; the consecration and vestments of the priests; the sacrifices and incense of their services—the whole culminating in the impressive ceremonies of the annual Day of Atonement, all served to set forth in one great symbolic system the central truth and crowning purpose of the organization and discipline of the covenant people.

The relation between the two bodies of law—

the moral and the ceremonial then appears. The Moral Law was given as the divine standard. It was not intended thereby to promote obedience; but to reveal the iniquity of the disobedient. "By the law is the knowledge of sin." Its distinct purpose was to show Israel, and through Israel all mankind, their need of a Saviour. This having been accomplished, the Ceremonial Law is added to prefigure him. Meanwhile and until he appears, the righteousness which could not be secured through the Moral Law—because sinners could not keep it, is secured through the sacrifices of the Ceremonial Law, not because of any virtue in them, but by virtue of his atoning work whom they so clearly typified.

The more the relations of these two bodies of law are studied, the more wonderful will they appear. In all the generations that have passed since Moses ascended the Mount of God, no one has been able to suggest an improvement upon the form or language of the Ten Commandments; and as the church increases in the knowledge of Christ, the marvellous accuracy with which his priestly work was prefigured in the Mosaic ritual grows upon her adoring mind. Sin and the Saviour were thus completely set forth, fifteen centuries before the Redeemer appeared in the two great complementary codes of the Law of Moses.

FINAL LESSONS.

The object of the wilderness was served in the giving of the law; but the entire period was disciplinary. The closing period was especially rich in instruction apart from the burden of their training.

Insubordination was more than once followed by swift and summary judgment. Obedience was more than once rewarded by the most merciful tokens of the divine favor. The evils of undelief were set forth in terms so striking that they ought never to have been forgotten, and more particularly towards the close of their wanderings the relations of sin and grace were defined, and the goodness of God towards those who had no claims upon his favor were emphasized. The awful plague which followed upon the rebellion of Korah [12] was stayed by means which reflected as does no other circumstance in the whole Old Testament, the mediation of the coming Redeemer. The incense kindled upon the coals of the altar of burnt offering, typified his accepted intercession, and when Aaron at the direction of Moses took the censer and ran into the midst of the congregation and stood between the living and the dead, the exercise of the typical priesthood of Christ was beautifully and wonderfully foreshadowed.

The erection of the brazen serpent [13] also, set before the people of God for all time the desperate nature of sin, and the character of that Substitute who was made sin for us, though he knew no sin, and his own self bear our sins in his own body on the tree.

Thus after a season of special instruction during which all those who had been originally serfs in the land of Egypt, but who for lack of proper discipline had exhibited the most vacillating spirit, had passed away, their children came to the borders of the land which they were to enter, fully equipped for their

[12] Numbers xvi. [13] Numbers xxi.

peculiar mission. Let us remember, as Edersheim beautifully remarks, that "It was not to them as to us a land of ruins and of memories, but of beauty and of hope. To a generation who had all their lives seen and known nothing but the wilderness, the richness, fertility and varied beauty of Palestine as it then was, must have possessed charms such as we scarcely can imagine."(14) From the plateau of the mountains of Abarim they obtained their first view of their Promised Land. Their goal was at last in view, and after a few short campaigns, in which they were victorious, their camps were pitched on the other side of Jordan with only its narrow stream dividing them from their possession. The scholars were now ready to become teachers. Their course of instruction was completed.

DEATH OF MOSES.

And now—the more deeply to impress their minds with the significance of the period through which they had passed, and of that upon which they were about to enter, their great leader calls them together to give them his final charge.

Their teachers had been changed several times in their history as they passed from grade to grade. The Hyksos had been succeeded by the Pharaohs, the Pharaohs by Moses, and now Moses himself, greatest of all, announces his own departure. That must have been a most solemn and impressive convention which the mighty law-giver conducted in the plains of Moab! He rehearses at length the whole story of his life and leadership. He repeats again the words of the cove-

(14) *Bible History*, II: 196.

nant, recalls the statutes of the law, reminds his people of their sins, their ingratitude, their unbelief, and the Lord's merciful compassion; he sings his last great song; blesses his people, tribe by tribe; appoints his successor, and gives him solemn charge, and then, following the beck of the Almighty finger, repairs to the solitudes of the wilderness alone to die. He has fulfilled his mission. The promised land is in sight. They are ready for its occupancy. Farewell!

From the summit of Pisgah he takes one long, wistful survey of the land of his fathers, and then surrenders his soul to his God. The mystery of his death we shall never be able to penetrate. Jewish tradition regarding literally the text in Deuteronomy xxxiv: 5: "So Moses died * * * at the mouth of the Lord," has it that he died "by the kiss of the Lord."(15) But however it may have been, it was high honor—the fitting close to that wonderful life.

"The hand of God
Upturned the sod,
And laid the dead man there."

EFFECTS.

If now, in closing our chapter, we contrast the appearance of the Israelites with that which they presented at the Exodus forty years before, we may gain in a single survey, some idea of all that had been accomplished. Regard them as they cross the river under Joshua and lay siege to the city of Jericho. What splendid order, what unity of action, what irresistible enthusiasm! Their organization was well-nigh

(15) Edersheim; *Bible History*, III: 45.

perfect. Their military establishment was arranged with a precision never yet excelled even under the great generals of more modern times. In addition to this they were in possession of a body of law carefully written and arranged, whereby the rights of the humblest citizen were secured; and, to crown all, they had been the subjects of a divine revelation, minute and particular, infinitely surpassing all that any nation had ever received, by which their religious life was ordered and governed, with a view at once to the responsibility, instruction and consolation of every individual soul, and with reference not alone to their sojourn in the land of Canaan as the mere citizens of a sequestered country, but with reference to prospects which stretched far into the future, compassed the whole earth, embraced the salvation of all mankind and the glory of God throughout eternity. All this had been accomplished through the schooling which they had received while they were in the House of Bondage, and the subsequent discipline to which they were subjected in that "great and terrible wilderness."

Chapter VI.

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL.

The people of Israel now enter upon their distinct mission. But first they must win back by their own faith and valor the land which God had given them, and in which their peculiar calling is to be fulfilled.

Providence, however, had prepared the way before them in a very wonderful way, which does not appear to the ordinary student of the Bible and may be wholly learned only by reference to secular history. The Egyptian monarchy, as we have observed in a foregoing chapter, had so declined in power and was so rent by internal factions that it could no longer molest them; while the condition of the promised land rendered its subjugation a comparatively easy task.

We speak of the conquest of Canaan as though it were altogether the work of Joshua; but without detracting from his fame it may be observed that the conquest began half a century before, in the extension of the power of the Egyptian monarchy. The great empire of the Hittites, which formerly extended over the greater part of Canaan had been shattered by the campaigns of Rameses the Great; the Israelites encountered only its fragments.[1] The conquest of the land became therefore a comparatively easy task, for instead of confronting a great united

(1) *The Bible and Modern Descoveries;* Harper, p. 179.

power, the Hebrew warriors met only small and separated tribes, which, though they combined at times against the invaders, were lacking in unity of action.[2]

Conquest completed, the Israelites had before them a protracted period of nine hundred years in which to enjoy their possession in comparative quiet, without being disturbed by the nations round about them. Their preservation is accomplished during this long epoch by the mutual hostility of the empire of Egypt upon the one hand and that of Assyria upon the other; each being too much occupied with its own affairs and the encroachment of the other to be especially concerned with the affairs of a comparatively insignificant nation. The very Egyptians themselves—though naturally incensed at the Israelites and nursing a grudge against them, were yet disposed to treat them upon the whole with favor, in order that their little commonwealth might serve as a breakwater between their own coast and the surging tides of the Semitic nations on the east.

In the seclusion which they are thus permitted to enjoy they shall have the opportunity to bring to full development those hopes and principles with which they are subsequently to enrich the world. In the meantime, also, the nations which are about them are left to themselves in order that they may carry to its conclusion every effort upon their own part to effect their own regeneration.

It is necessary at this point to clearly apprehend the nature of the Hebrew mission, that we may have it in mind when we pass to the succeeding chapters.

(6) *The Empire of the Hittites;* Wright, pp. 92, 112.

The religion of revelation in whatever age we may consider it, is distinguished from all other religions by this one great characteristic feature, HOPE. It always affords a striking contrast to heathenism, in that while heathenism invariably places its golden age in the past, and looks back upon a time when men were wise and happy; revelation continually contemplates a goal in the future, and looks forward to the time when all mankind shall become enlightened and blessed. All that was embraced in the religious life of the Hebrew people may therefore be comprised in that single expression which we frequently encounter in the Scriptures, "The Hope of Israel."

THE PRIMITIVE HOPE.

This hope had been communicated to the people of God long before they were limited to Israel. It did not originate with the Hebrews. It was once the common heritage of the race; it was revived after a long period of apparent extinction, and the chosen people became thenceforth its custodians.

This hope of Israel in its original form was contained inthe first promise given of God to the mother of the race after the fall of man. Indeed, even before it was announced to her, there was an intimation of its announcement. The race was created holy. In our present fallen condition we are not able to form a full and complete idea of that intercourse which the race originally enjoyed with God; but we are not entirely unable to apprehend its nature. We know that it was free, familiar and unrestricted, though profoundly reverential. After the fall which interrupted this intercourse, we read that God again drew near to man, and

although man fled from him as from an avenger, yet nevertheless there was something in the very sound of his footsteps which indicated that he approached not so much for the purpose of punishing the offender as for the purpose of bringing back the lost. As Delitzsch beautifully remarks, "His audible steps after the fall are his first steps toward the goal of the revelation in the flesh." (3) It is an indication of signal mercy upon the part of the offended God that before the curse is pronounced upon man and upon the very ground which is cursed for his sake, the hope of final restoration is given. The promise is in these words spoken to the deceiving serpent:

> "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel."(4)

This promise is more wonderfully comprehensive in its character than the ordinary reader of the Bible imagines. The peculiar order of salvation through the incarnation is here distinctly foreshadowed. "The promise like a sphinx," to quote Delitzsch again, "crouches at the entrance of sacred history." (5) Its solution does not begin to dawn until history has unfolded itself, and it is never completely given until He comes in whom alone its meaning could have been fulfilled. The word "seed" which is here employed (Hebrew *Zera*), is never used except of the male, and to use it as it is here, of the female, is altogether unusual. The promise thereby becomes unique. There is nothing like it anywhere in Scripture or in other

(3) *Messianic Prophecies;* Delitzsch, § 2. (4) Genesis iii: 15.
(5) Delitzsch. § 4.

literature. So many hundred years before the coming of the Saviour, he is called, strange to say, the Seed of the woman. The expression is never again employed, so far as I can find, except in the single instance of the outburst of the joy of Eve upon the birth of the son given her instead of Abel. "God," said she, "hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew."[6]

This promise became the most precious element in all the traditions which were handed down from father to son during those long ages that elapsed between Seth and Noah. There is abundant evidence of the fact that it was often recalled, and that in the wickedness of the antediluvian world the light of the blessed hope was not extinguished. Eve confidently expected deliverance to come through her own son. In the death of Abel that expectation was blighted; but in the birth of Seth it revived again and hence her joyful exclamation. Enos, the son of Seth became the head of a religious society founded upon the promise. With him "men began to call on the name of the Lord," (Hebrew "Jehovah,")[7] the language thus plainly indicating by its use of the covenant name of God, a reference to the primitive hope. The translation of Enoch midway in the dreary period which succeeded, plainly foreshadowed the triumph of the great coming Deliverer who should crush the head of that cruel serpent whose awful work of deception had brought death into the world. Lamech, distinctly recalls the original promise when he calls his son just born "Hope" (or Comfort) saying "This

(6) Genesis iv: 25.

(7) Genesis iv: 26.

same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed."[8] He was not altogether disappointed; for his son Hope (Noah) was an important factor in the line of promise, though not its crowning fulfillment. Yet to Noah it appears that God has not forgotten his word, nor forsaken the sinful race—even though he is drawing near to judgment; for to Noah the promise is substantially renewed, and the preservation of the family of the patriarch is another distinct installment in its fulfillment. The human race was thus continued for the sake of that seed through whom the great deliverance was to come. Immediately after the deluge a covenant was made with Noah, in which he was assured of the future stability of the earth and the uniformity of the seasons, and his son Shem was designated as the one through whom the original promise was to find its ultimate fulfillment. After this a long interval occurs during which, as we have already seen, the world lapsed again into heathenism. Still, the great hope was not permitted to become obliterated, and it makes its appearance again in the person of one specially called and set apart as its custodian.

THE PATRIARCHAL HOPE.

When Abram was summoned from Chaldæa and directed to leave his home and kindred for a land which God should show him, the Almighty had special reference to the further development of that hope which had received no increment since the days of Shem.

(8) Genesis v: 29. See margin.

After a certain period of training the Lord enters into a solemn covenant with Abram, which is known henceforth throughout all Scripture as the Everlasting Covenant. It was never to be set aside. The Church of God throughout all time is founded upon it. The Mosaic dispensation itself was but an episode in its development.

As the call of Abram begins a new era in history, and as such marks a distinct epoch in the preparation of the world for the Redeemer, it opens with a decided enlargement of the primitive hope.[9] The covenant with Abram established a special relationship between himself and his descendants and God; and also between his descendants and mankind, and assigned to him and to his descendants for the purpose of these relationships that chosen land which was to be the center of blessed radiating influences. In the preliminary elements of the training which Abram received in order that he might be the second party to this covenant, we note particularly his segregation from the rest of mankind, his childlessness and the many years that were suffered to pass over him until he became an old man with no hope of posterity—all these in order that the features of the covenant and the hope which it contained might be the more distinctly emphasized.

The special features of that covenant were as follows: The name of the patriarch was changed from Abram to Abraham as a pledge of the promise that he should be father of many nations. The word "Abram" means "exalted father." The word "Abra-

(9) See *Messianic Prophecy*, Briggs, 84.

ham" the "father of a multitude." Inasmuch as the name bestowed by God cannot be a mere empty word, but the expression of something real and valuable, this change of Abram's name gave to him a pledge of the fulfillment of the divine covenant. We observe also that the name of his wife was changed at the same time for similar reasons.

The second special feature of the covenant is found in the rite of circumcision which was associated with it. This ceremony had direct reference to the seed of Abraham, through whom the promised blessing was to come. It also indicates the fact that in his seed were to be included not only the descendants of his body, but all those who adopted his faith and thereby became parties to the covenant, inasmuch as the sign of the covenant was not confined to his immediate family, but extended to all the inmates of his house and afterwards to any strangers who desired to be included among the people of God.

The third, and in some respects the most important feature of the covenant, was the divine oath with which it was confirmed.[10] The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews[11] makes special reference to this oath as rendering the covenant doubly obligatory even upon God himself, and thus doubly sure to his people.

But the fourth and last feature of the covenant, which invested it with peculiar value, was the divine promise which accompanied it: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." This promise was repeated three times to Abraham [12] and once each to

(10) Genesis xxii: 16.
(11) Hebrews vi: 13.
(12) Genesis xii: 3; xv: 5; xxii: 18.

Isaac[13] and to Jacob.[14] Although in the days of the patriarchs this "seed" was not specialized, and they may have supposed that it indicated in general the descendants of Abraham, yet it is certain that from the first it was intended to have a special reference to One alone, who should be in a peculiar and distinctive sense the Seed of Abraham. The word in the original is singular, and Paul's use of it[15] is literally legitimate. In the singular form it specifically excludes that which the plural form would include, and indicates plainly that the seed of Abraham which was to be the means of blessing was a unity, which (though it may at the first have been properly regarded as the entire people of Israel), should finally be concentrated in a single individual.[16]

Henceforth Abraham's life has sole reference to the covenant and to the hope which vitalized it. He watches anxiously for the coming of the promised heir, and when he is at last given of God, guards him with special care, protects him from injury and insult, provides for his marriage and settles his inheritance upon him before his own death, removing to a distance the other heirs who might have proved troublesome claimants. The deep spiritual meaning of the promise is also conveyed to Abraham in connection with the proposed sacrifice of Isaac by means with which every student of the Bible is sufficiently familiar.

The patriarchal hope was continued to Isaac and Jacob as we have indicated. It is borne prominently in mind in the blessing bestowed upon Jacob by his

(13) Genesis xxvi: 4.
(14) Genesis xxviii: 14.
(15) Gal. iii: 16.
(16) Delitzsch, §7.

father, whereby he is assigned to the lordship of his brethren; a curse being pronounced upon those who curse him, and a blessing upon those that bless him.[17] It is re-echoed in the blessings of the dying Jacob and the peculiar prophecy which he utters with regard to the scepter of Judah and the characterization of him as a young lion,[18] foreshadowing the royal power of him who is subsequently described as the Lion of the tribe of Judah.

As yet, however, little else was made known than that through Isaac, Jacob and Judah redemptive blessing should in some way be extended to the world. During the entire patriarchal period, while the seed is intrinsically the most important element in the promise, the land, which was to be the portion of the seed, is the more prominent one, and again and again in the history of Abraham particular mention is made of the land.[19] The reason for this will doubtless occur to the reader. Within three generations his descendants were to be led out of this land into another where they were to remain for several centuries, and therefore the repetition of that feature of the promise which connected it with the promised land became necessary in order that their minds might be set upon it during the entire period of their long and painful exile. And such indeed proved to be its effect. Some of the Israelites became in a measure attached to the land of Egypt where they had sojourned, and when they met with peculiar hardships upon their way to Canaan expressed the desire to return to it. Nevertheless the

(17) Genesis xxvii: 29. (18) Genesis xlix: 9.
(19) Genesis xii: 1–7; xiii: 15; xv: 7 and 18.

fact remains that the entire people of Israel gladly forsook Egypt in a body with all of their possessions, leaving, as Moses himself expressed it, "not even a hoof behind" to indicate that they had once been residents of the place or expected at any time to return to it. They broke with Egypt altogether. They left therein not a vestige of their sojourn, and, notwithstanding their complaints, not one of them, so far as we are informed, actually made the effort to go back. The explanation is found in this: they had set out for the land promised of God unto their fathers; the land wherewith their great hope was connected; where the seed of Abraham should appear, and outside of which the conditions of the promise could not be met nor its peculiar privileges enjoyed.

THE NATIONAL HOPE.

After the Exodus the hope of the patriarchal family was fully developed into the hope of the nation. The Israelites having been taught in the manner which we have considered in the foregoing chapters, their adoption as sons and their special relations to their Father and King, were prepared to receive some decided enlargement of their great expectation. This enlargement came first in the revelation to them of their peculiar office-work as a priesthood and a kingdom. Herein their knowledge was extended far beyond that of the mere fact that they were the chosen seed and their country the promised land, as we have already observed; they were definitely instructed with regard to their mission. In this assurance they journeyed on through the wilderness until they came to the borders

of their promised possession. But before entering upon it, the new generation, already thoroughly trained and disciplined and about to enter upon the conquest of the land where they were to exercise their peculiar office work, should receive a still further and more specific addition to that hope which has now become distinctively The Hope of Israel.

The record begins with the story of the blessing of Balaam, whom Balak brought to curse Israel, but who "could not go beyond the word of the Lord his God to do less or more." Through this strange personage the Hebrews received the representation of the kingdom of God, as set apart from the nations of the world; composed of vast numbers; irresistible in power; subduing all nations to its sceptre, under the leadership of God its King. They perceive, also, by means of Balaam's vision, one of the most beautiful pictures of the future which is anywhere presented in prophecy. "I shall see him but not now. I shall behold him but not nigh. There shall come a Star out of Jacob and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel."[20] This may be regarded as the foreshadowing of the allegiance of the entire heathen world.

Very soon afterwards Moses himself, in his final address to the people upon the plains of Moab, uttered the most important prophecy, as it was the concluding one, of this period. In it the hope of Israel, which had heretofore been general, became personal. The "seed" was specialized and limited to an individual. Moses says:

(20) Numb. xxiv: 17. So the Messiah is often afterwards symbolized by a star, or indeed called such.

"The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken; according to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee; and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." (8)

They were herein taught that the coming Seed should be a great teacher; that he should speak to them in God's name; that he should be an Israelite, and that disobedience to his words, or the refusal to follow him, would meet with the severest divine condemnation. This second Moses should complete the revelation of God, and should become the crown of the royal priesthood—the priestly kingdom.

Let us pause here for a moment that we may sum up the contents of those promises which the people of God had received up to this point, and apprehend all that was included in the hope of Israel at the day when they entered into their possessions. It may perhaps be an aid to the student to tabulate these contents, assigning each particular progressive element in the advancing hope to the person with whom it is connected, as follows:

(21) Deut. xviii: 15, 19.

EVE .....SEED OF THE WOMAN
Genesis III: 15.

SETH .....SEED INSTEAD OF ABEL
Genesis IV: 25.

ENOS ...MEN CALL ON THE NAME OF THE LORD
Genesis IV: 26.

ENOCH ....TRANSLATION PREFIGURING CONQUEST
Genesis V: 24.

LAMECH .....BIRTH OF "HOPE"
Genesis V: 29.

NOAH .....COVENANT RENEWED
Genesis IX: 11.

SHEM .....THE LINE OF BLESSING
Genesis IX: 26.

ABRAHAM .....THE SPECIAL SEED
Genesis XXII: 16.

JACOB .....LORDSHIP OF THE SEED
Genesis XXVII: 29.

JUDAH.....LION OF THE TRIBE
Genesis XLIX: 9.

MOSES .....ROYAL PRIESTHOOD
Exodus XIX: 6.

BALAAM.....THE SCEPTER AND STAR
Numbers XXIV: 17.

MOSES.....THE DIVINE PROPHET
Deuteronomy XVIII: 15.

This table will recall at a glance the ground which has been traversed. The Hebrews were to enter Canaan with no meagre, shadowy expectation of some ill defined though influential future. On the contrary—as the table clearly shows, their expectation had reached that stage in which it became both great and specific; their hope had assumed vast proportions and distinct form; and their spiritual possessions were incomparably more precious than their temporal ones.

Still further, we remember that they had now, in the books written by Moses, the permanent record of the origin and development of their hope. It had not only received great additions, but in the history of which it was the chief factor, its progression was set before them in distinct terms and the relation of its separate additions to each other and to other divine revelations, was made plainly to appear. Henceforth, therefore, it was the central element of a great treasure with which they had been invested for the benefit of the whole race and which, in its broad outlines at least, we should here consider.

THE HEBREW INVESTITURE.

Inasmuch as the outlook of the Hebrew was toward the future and contemplated a coming age in which mankind should be wise, happy and holy, it may be characterized not only as a religion of hope, but a religion with a governing ideal.[22] This ideal was unique in every particular. None of its essential features were borrowed from any earthly source. If in any respect

(22) See *Messianic Prophecy;* Briggs, p. 28.

the ceremonies which were in use among other nations—Egypt, for example, seem to have been imitated, it was in their external and accidental features only. Their unique ideal was threefold: it related—

1st, *To God.* They were taught his unity and personality. He was the God of creation, of providence and of redemption; most holy, wise and powerful; full of all goodness, mercy and truth. In order that they might never mistake his nature and attributes, these were described in formal written language, together with the service which he required.

2d, *To man.* The unity of the race was revealed to them. God was one, so also mankind was one; and man had been created in his image. This conception differed *toto cælo* from that of all other nations and relieved the Hebrews from those race-prejudices which were not only taught, but even emphasized by other religions. It was written for their instruction that the original holiness of mankind had been lost by sin, and with it the original unity of the race; but both were to be ultimately restored in the grace of God through the instrumentality of the chosen seed in the exercise of its royal priesthood.

3d, *To redemption*—the union of God and man. This is implied in the foregoing. It comprises the substance of the hope of Israel. They were taught that since the fall of man from his holy estate, good and evil had been in dire collision. But the conflict should not be forever. Some day the good would prevail over the evil, holiness be triumphant, and those who had accepted the grace of God should enjoy his presence forever.

Such was their ideal, such their hope. It was expressed in such promises as those to which we have referred. Already they foresaw the coming deliverance. They knew that it would be affected through that central personage about whom all their revelations were now made to revolve. He was to appear in the land which had been selected for them *for his sake*, and through one of their own families chosen *to provide for him an ancestry*. Moses, through whom they had been redeemed from Egypt, was only a type of the Prophet like unto himself, and their first passover only a dim and shadowy forecast of the second.

This was already a most marvelous investiture and distinguished them from all other nations by incomparable privileges and responsibilities; yet they had but entered upon their national existence, and their mission was only well begun. Their investiture was to be indefinitely extended in the centuries which were before them.

The history which now succeeds is divided into three periods.[23] *First*, the period of the Judges—from Moses to Samuel. *Second*, the period of the united kingdom of Israel—from Samuel to Solomon. *Third*, the period of division and decline—from Solomon to the close of the Old Testament.

THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES.

The first period comprises about three hundred years—a little more than one-third of the entire independence of the Hebrew nation previous to the Babylonian captivity. During this period there is no

(23) See *Bampton Lectures* for 1866; Liddon, p. 78.

definite enlargement of the hope of Israel, and scarcely any reference thereto which appears in the sacred record. There are certain indications that the hope was kept alive; that it was neither forgotten, nor failed to exercise an influence upon the life of the people. But their condition was such, occupied as they were in making a place for themselves among the nations of the earth; redeeming the land, expelling its heathen inhabitants, and securing for themselves a permanent dwelling-place, that their activities were largely consumed in the affairs of secular life. We ought not to be surprised at this, when we remember the beginnings of national life and institutions in connection with all the other great races of the world. We have in the book of Judges, with its companion-book of Ruth, an exact picture of that condition which obtains in the early life of every civilized people; except that in the case of Israel an authentic record takes the place of what in other nations are mere legendary stories. Following this record it is not difficult for us to transport ourselves into those very times. We perceive that the first occupation of the people was a struggle for national existence. The possessors of the country had been subdued in the campaigns of Joshua; but they still remained within its borders, a constant menace to Israel, frequently rising in the effort to regain their lost territory. The Hebrews could maintain themselves only by continual warfare, and this warfare became the more difficult because of the number of hostile tribes which confronted them. Had the land been held by a single strong nation they might have shattered its power at a single blow; but as it

was divided among a large number of clans, each independent of the other, and each under its own king, the Hebrews were obliged to conquer them piecemeal and dispossess them little by little. They had been forewarned of this. They had been told of "seven nations greater and mightier than they" whom the Lord should "deliver before them;"[24] and again, that they should be "driven out little by little" until the people of Israel should have so increased as to be able to inhabit the land. They were not to be driven out in a single year, "lest the land should become desolate" and the "beasts of the field multiply against them."[25] These nations might combine against the Israelites, as they did in several instances; yet for all practical purposes they were separate nations, each nation acting for itself. A victory might be decisive in one place and completely humble the tribe from which it had been obtained, while at the same time, only a few miles away, another enemy arose in new territory which in turn must be overcome. Accordingly this period was not only protracted, but it was one of constant occupation, busy movement and direct contact with new and hostile elements. Until the Hebrews had multiplied sufficiently to occupy the territory the dispossession of these heathen tribes was most difficult, indeed impossible, since they would spring up behind the Israelites, on leaving a district, as they sprang up before them when they advanced. It was, therefore, not a time for the development of their peculiar institutions, and we ought not to expect to find

(24) Deut. vii: 1.
(25) Ex. xxiii: 29, 30.

in it any emphatic or repeated references to their distinctive hope.

But another consideration must be added to the foregoing. The Hebrews, surrounded as they were by heathenism which was grossly sensual as well as persistently aggressive, and being divided from each other in their occupation of their tribal allotments, yielded at times to the temptations which assaulted them. They had also been carefully warned concerning this. They had been instructed in advance to make no treaties with the heathen into whose land they should come, but to destroy their altars and break down their images, and burn their idols with fire; and to remember that they themselves were a holy people unto the Lord, their God.[26] Before the death of Joshua, and after the conquest of the southern portion of the land, he had endeavored to remind them of this by the solemn assembly convened in Mount Ebal according to the command of Moses, when he wrote upon stones a copy of the law, and read to the people its words, with the blessings and the curses.[27] And again, at the close of his life, when he gathered the people together at the same place, in order that their minds might be the more affected by the remembrance of the former convention; and when they solemnly renewed the covenant to put away all the false gods which were among them, and solemnly declared that they would serve the Lord and obey his voice. In order to bind this agreement it was written in the Book of the Law of God and a great memorial stone was set up as a witness.[28]

(26) Deut. vii: 3; xii: 2.
(27) Josh. viii.
(28) Josh. xxiv.

The precaution of Joshua was influential during the next generation. But upon the death of the elders who succeeded him the evil influence of the heathen began to be felt. The religious ceremonies of the people were neglected. They forsook their covenant, and in many cases worshipped the idols of the nations which were about them.

This experience has also been repeated at other times in the history of the church of God. The age which succeeded the fathers who had learned of the Apostles was very similar to the age of the elders who outlived Joshua, and in certain branches of the Christian church to this day the evil influences of that heathenism with which it came in contact in the first centuries of its existence are still apparent.

The religious life of the Hebrew people also suffered through the laws which governed the inheritance of the tribes and confined the members of each to their own tribal lands. In this way the unification of the people was long deferred. The tribes after their settlement appeared like so many separate republics, without any articles of confederation which were binding, and consisting of independent states. There was no central authority nor central bond, but on the other hand tribal jealousies and hostilities. Foreign invasions were therefore the more effective in the subjugation of the people and foreign influences in their demoralization. The "judges," after which the Book of Judges is named, did not preside over the whole land, but over separated districts. The great national festivals were imperfectly observed, the great national sanctuary was forgotten, and the Le-

vites, and even the priests, sometimes served sections of the great people instead of the people as one.

We must also remember that in those early days intercourse between different parts of the country was difficult and rare. A journey of a few miles into a neighboring tribe, and still more so into a comparatively remote district, was undertaken with great solemnity and care, as it involved many hardships such as would naturally arise in an undeveloped country, and in addition the certain encounter with the wild beasts (which in those days were numerous in the unoccupied territory) and probably with hostile people as well.

We can understand, therefore, how in such little communities and such isolated districts the peculiar principles of the Hebrew faith would be neglected and the flame of its hope fade into a flickering ember. The sparse and stationary population would almost forget its own origin, or if they recalled and studied the faith of their fathers they would scarcely be able to perceive its real meaning or its great promise.

Nevertheless, we may certainly judge from the narrative that in very many districts there were certain well-informed and pious persons who were not corrupted by the idolatry about them, and who were better instructed in their faith than the mass of the population. The book of Ruth furnishes a beautiful picture of one such district and of certain families which belonged to it. Despite their isolation and separation there were always some who were conscious of the mission of the people of Israel and of the meaning of their peculiar existence in that peculiar land.

Occasionally, also, the people gathered under the influence of some well-known chieftain like Gideon, and for a time the unity of the people was exhibited. There were also some scattered throughout the land who, like the parents of Samuel, did not forget their obligation to appear before the Lord, and who came up annually to the seat of the Ark of the Covenant at the return of the Feast of the Passover. By such means the ideal of the Hebrew faith and the vital connection of the people with the hope of Israel were preserved, and that legislation which was intended to be its safeguard was continued. Their seclusion was also demonstrated by their observance of the rite of circumcision, of the Sabbath, and of the sabbatical periods of rest, by which the wall of separation from that heathen world which was in such close proximity was not permitted to be thrown down. The Levites also, according to the Mosaic arrangement, had been scattered throughout the country in the cities which were assigned to them, and in these centers at least was kept alive the spirit and traditions of their order. As they depended for their support upon their religion they would keep the old faith alive. Even though in some districts the Levite might be the only living personation of it, yet he connected the past with the present, and the present with the future. Whatever may have been the separation between the tribes and the jealousies which they entertained, the Levite, belonging as he did to all Israel, all Israel had an interest in him, to provide for him, to protect him, and to listen to his instructions.

So the years rolled by. Meanwhile the people of

Israel were multiplying, enlarging their borders, overcoming their enemies, securing for themselves an increasing portion of the territory, until we arrive at the point where no important enemy is found to dispute their title except the Philistines, who had obtained a pre-eminence in Palestine above any of the hostile nations which had preceded them. At the close of this period Eli was the presiding priest at Shiloh, and his two sons ministered as his assistants. But their impiety and immorality was so great that they dishonored the worship of Jehovah and brought ruin upon their house. In this juncture the word of the Lord for the first time in many years is heard, and a new era begins in the history of the chosen people.

SAMUEL TO SOLOMON.

The story of the child Samuel is one of the most familiar to the student of the Scripture. When he began to minister unto the Lord before Eli we are told that "the word of the Lord was precious," there "was no open vision." But when it was known that he had received a revelation directly from the Almighty it became manifest not only to Eli but also to all Israel, "from Dan even to Beer-sheba," that the people of God were again blessed with the presence of a prophet of the Lord.

Before Samuel had grown to manhood a circumstance occurred which marks the transition point between the first period and the second. The Philistines had come up to battle against Israel. The Hebrews in their dismay had sent to Shiloh and brought out to their camp the Ark of the Covenant—the two sons of

Eli attending it. But in the battle which ensued the Israelites were defeated. A panic ensued; there was a terrible slaughter, and thirty thousand Hebrews were slain. But even this loss of life was not the greatest calamity. The Ark of God was taken, and in the death of the sons of Eli his dissolute house was blotted out. When Eli heard the news he fell from the seat upon which he was sitting awaiting the news of the battle, broke his neck and died. The sentiment of the whole people was expressed in the exclamation of his daughter-in-law, the wife of one of the sons which had been slain, when giving birth to a child in the moment of her awful disappointment, she named him *Ichabod*, exclaiming: "The glory is departed from Israel, for the Ark of God is taken."

This defeat and disgrace was the occasion of a general movement upon the part of all the people, which, beginning with the misrule of the sons of Eli, finally culminated, with the misrule of Samuel's own sons, in the demand for a king. Although Samuel was disposed to protest, yet the Lord instructed him to listen to the demand and grant the request which the people had made of him. Saul was anointed and the Hebrew monarchy was organized.

This movement had been anticipated and provided for, while the people of Israel were still in the wilderness, before their entrance into the promised land.[29] The fulfillment of the mission of Israel could not have been completed without the establishment of a kingdom in which the royal priesthood should find its complete expression; and it would certainly have been

(29) See Deut. xvii.

provided by the direct intervention of God himself in due season. This movement upon the part of the people was, however, premature, and the form which it assumed was a virtual rebellion against a prophet and judge who had not yet been discharged from his office, and against Jehovah whom he represented. The reign of Saul was, therefore, abortive, although permitted by Jehovah in order to teach the people the futility of any rebellion against his own divine sovereignty. The lesson which they learned during this reign was that their monarchy could not be separated from the theocracy, nor from its divine messengers and representatives in the persons of the prophets.[30] So, after the death of Saul, the man whom God himself had chosen and whom Samuel had anointed, the man after God's own heart, the true typical king of Israel, ascended the throne. His birthplace was Bethlehem, where the Messiah himself was to be born; and the king—though the Hebrews did not know it at the time, was to be his progenitor. David's Lord was also to become David's son. David understood the conditions upon which his reign was accepted of the Almighty, and from his accession until the close of his life considered himself a theocratic ruler. It was during his reign, therefore, that the next great advance is manifested in the development of the hope of Israel. The particular features of the unfolding promise appear upon the desire of David to build a house to the Lord in Jerusalem. The revelation

(30) *Old Testament Prophecy;* Elliott, p. 93. It must be remembered also that Saul sprang from Benjamin, whereas the Messianic line was that of Judah.

which was made to him upon the expression of this desire transcends the previous predictions in its enlargement of the Messianic hope. Nathan, the prophet, came to the king with a wonderful message, of which two versions are given in the Scripture, the one in II. Samuel, ch. vii.; the other in I. Chronicles, ch. xvii. The words employed in both cases are substantially the same. We quote from the latter: "Furthermore I tell thee, that the Lord will build thee an house. And it shall come to pass, when thy days be expired, that thou must go to be with thy father, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall be of thy sons, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build me an house, and I will establish his throne forever. I will be his father and he shall be my son, and I will not take my mercy away from him as I took it from him that was before thee; but I will settle him in mine house and in my kingdom forever, and his throne shall be established for evermore." This promse included the everlasting reign of the house of David, the erection of the house of Jehovah by the Seed of David, and the exaltation of the Seed of David to divine sonship.

As the promise which was made to Abraham was specialized in the promise which was given by the hand of Moses, so the prediction of Balaam concerning the "Sceptre" and the "Star" which should arise out of Jacob is now specialized in the vision of the sceptre of David's Son. The conquering star of Jacob occupies the throne of David. The Seed of the woman, afterwards recognized as the Seed of Abraham, is now still more particularly seen to be the Seed of David. But the special feature of this prediction is in the rela-

tion of sonship which is hereby foretold. Israel at the time of the Exodus had been adopted by Jehovah and called his "first-born." This relation of sonship is now particularly applied to the Seed of David, but in a peculiar and much higher sense. It will not answer to interpret this prediction as referring to Solomon, since it cannot possibly be fulfilled in him. Solomon, like David before him, was only the herald of its realization. David, as the son and seed of Abraham, was the herald of the realization of *that particular promise*, as Solomon, the royal son of David, is the herald in turn of *the later features*. Solomon sitting upon David's throne and building the house of Jehovah is only pointing the way to the full realization of the promise in the Messiah. The kingdom of David is an everlasting kingdom. His dynasty is an everlasting dynasty. His throne is an everlasting throne.

Thus in the prophecy of Nathan the hope of Israel is still farther particularized and enlarged, and a new ideal is constituted as the base of the prophecies of the future.

A very large amount of literature is connected with this period, many of the Psalms being included in it. It is impossible for us to enter into the consideration of particular passages, or to dwell upon the beautiful details of the features of the hope of Israel which are presented in this age. From this time forth the coming Messiah was not only the chief feature of the faith of Israel (as indeed he had always been), but this was the particular feature wherewith the thought of the people was the most prominently and the most passionately connected. The book of Psalms, perhaps

more than any other, kept alive these thoughts and hopes, and gave them character. A very considerable portion of it was written by David himself, under the influence of the inspiring promise which had been made to him. The book was at the same time the liturgy, the hymnody and the theology of the church. During the changeful periods in the troubled history of Israel which were to follow, these beautiful lyrics ministered to the faith of the people and inspired their confidence. The grandeur of their conceptions, their intense pathos, their sweet tenderness of feeling, their childlike simplicity of faith, and their entire trustfulness, expressed the deepest religious experience; but beyond these characteristics were the earnestness of the proclamation of God to the wide world, their view of the city of God as the ideal state, and their expectation of the fulfillment of every promise in the ultimate blessedness of the world. Above all, they set forth in distinct lineaments a portrait of the Messiah King. Thither do all the lines of thought tend, and therein do they all center; so that when the nations of the world in their assaults upon the people of Israel destroyed their capital, wasted their land, and carried away their people into captivity, the divine assertion was heard above the noise of the tumult, proclaiming his kingdom upon earth, and promising its ultimate triumph in the coming Redeemer. The church was ever ready to respond to this proclamation and promise, ever ready to confess that it was his flock, the sheep of his pasture, some day to be gathered into the fold of the Great Shepherd, whom David, their king, had sung.

After the death of Solomon came the rebellion of Jeroboam and the division of the kingdom—the second period having continued about one hundred and sixty years.

POLITICAL DECLINE; BRIGHTENING HOPE.

The succeeding period was one of political decline; but the promises and hopes of the preceding period were not now to be obscured in the trials and struggles of the people as they had been during the period of the Judges. Those hopes were too bright, those promises too brilliant, to be extinguished by any flood of persecution, however severe. So even in the loss of Hebrew independence the visions of the future became all the more exact and all the more inspiring, culminating in the revelations of that wonderful book of Isaiah, which has been aptly described as the "Fifth Gospel." In the prophets of this period many of the minute features of the coming Deliverer were described—the manner of his birth, the town in which he should be born, his personal appearance, his miracles, his sorrows, the method of his burial, and even his resurrection; his rejection by the people, the nature of his sufferings, the sacrificial character of his death and the extension of his purchased redemption to all mankind.

The prophecies of this period are characterized by a spirituality and a universalism which was the ultimate development of the hope, and had never before been fully expressed. The prophets looked forward to a time when the "sons of strangers should join themselves to Jehovah" and come to his holy mountain;

when his house should become a "house of prayer for all nations," and when all nations should be converted to Israel's God. They looked forward to a time when the Mosaic priesthood should be set aside in favor of a new order of which Melchisedec was the type, and when from the Gentiles there should be "taken for priests and for Levites." They looked forward to a time when Jehovah should make a new covenant with Israel, "not according to that when he brought them out of Egypt," but one in which he would "put his law in their inward parts and write it upon their hearts;" when a man "should no longer teach his neighbor," but all should be taught directly of God; when "Holiness unto the Lord"—the peculiar inscription upon the mitre of the high-priest—should be on all the vessels in common use, and even upon the bells of the horses; when iniquity should be forgiven and sin be remembered no more; when the "knowledge of the Lord should cover the earth as the waters cover the sea," and when the Son of David should be the sole king and shepherd of his people.[31] There are a multitude of glowing descriptions—of which these are but illustrations, of the times of the New Covenant, with its blessings not only to Israel, but to all mankind. They refer to a spiritual, world-wide dispensation, in which the Kingdom of God should be co-extensive with the habitable earth.

In connection with these specific promises it must also be remembered that all the ceremonies of the Hebrews had some reference, either direct or remote,

(31) See *Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah;* Edersheim, Lect. VI.

to their distinguishing hope. The promises are not isolated, but are features of one prophetic picture. Ritual, institutions and revelations are all parts of one grand system. Even the historical facts in the life of Israel are not loosely connected events; but parts of an organic development tending towards one definite end. This system was individualized in the Messiah. The coming deliverer had been from the first reflected in such objects as the ark, the ladder in Jacob's vision and the brazen serpent, and following the giving of the law, in their sacrifices, their thank-offerings, the construction of the tabernacle and of the temple; in the altars of sacrifice and of incense, and in the table of shew-bread, as well as in other furniture of the Lord's house; in the vestments of the high-priest and of his inferiors; and in a multitude of things beside. Their system was saturated with this one great inspiring expectation; and as the centuries passed by, and more particularly after the decline and dispersion of the people, it entered into their life in all of its forms and aspirations, and became its ruling passion. Their teachers gave themselves exclusively to its study. They declared that "all the prophets prophesied only of the days of the Messiah," and that "the world was created only for the Messiah." They found references to him in many other passages of the Old Testament than those specific predictions to which we are accustomed to appeal. The latter formed, as in the New Testament, but a small proportion of the whole. That very many besides were regarded as distinctly Messianic is fully borne out by an analysis of those passages in the Old Testament to which the

ancient synagogues referred. Their number amounts to upwards of four hundred and fifty, and their Messianic application is supported by more than five hundred and fifty references to the ancient Rabbinic writings.[32] It would seem as if every event came to be regarded as prophetic, and every prophesy as a light casting its sheen upon the future, until the picture of the age in which the Messiah should appear stood out in the distant background variegated with the manifold brightness of prophetic utterances. The darkest night in the history of Israel was lit up by a hundred constellations in the heavens above; and its silence broken by the echoes of countless voices from the distant but sympathetic skies.

After the return of the people of Israel to their own land, following the age of the Maccabees, and in connection with the rise of Pharisaism, the character of this sentiment was to a very great extent altered. Many fanciful expectations were introduced, which were entirely unwarranted either by the prophecies or types of the Scripture. The hope became secular and exclusive, so that the Jews of Palestine, in the age preceding the appearance of Christ had constructed a mental picture of him which was not realized in his person at his coming. Jesus of Nazareth was certainly not the Messiah whom the mass of the Jews of that age expected.[33] And yet even at that time, inasmuch as their ideas were at least based upon the Old Testament, they still embodied the chief features of the true Messianic hope. The claim of the New Testa-

(32) Edersheim's *Messiah;* I, 163.
(33) Edersheim, Vol. I, Book II, ch. v. See the whole chapter.

ment concerning the Messiah is fully supported by Rabbinic statements. Such doctrines as the pre-mundane existence of the Messiah; his superiority to Moses and even to the angels; his representative character; his sufferings; his violent death—and that for his people; his peculiar work of power; his redemption and the restoration of Israel; the prevalence of his law; the universal blessings of the latter days, and the extension of his kingdom—all were held even in that age by the teachers of Israel; and although there was much connected with these doctrines which was indistinct, incoherent, and explained from a much lower standpoint, a people was thus made ready for the Lord, composed of many sincere souls who "waited for the consolation of Israel."

But we shall now discover, as we pass to the succeeding chapters, that before the rise of Pharisaism, the glorious hope of Israel, which had developed along the lines indicated, had been already communicated to the nations, in connection with certain great upheavals in society and certain great movements of human thought. It had already entered upon its world-history and mission. The period of diffusion came. The Israelites were dispersed throughout the earth and a class of Jews arose who did not belong to Palestine and were not infected with its prejudices. These matters will be considered in the following division of our book.

(34) It is of course impossible within our limits to treat the Messianic prophecies in detail. The reader who desires to pursue the subject is referred to the works mentioned in the foot-notes.

Part III.

Period of Diffusion: Japhetic Supremacy.

"Remove the diadem; take off the crown. * * * Exalt him that is low and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it * * * until he come whose right it is, and I will give it him."

—*Ezek.* xxi: 26, 27.

Chapter VII: The Great Overturning.

Chapter VIII: The Great Intellectual Revolution.

Chapter IX: The Hellenizing of the Nations.

Chapter X: The Transformation of the Jew.

Chapter XI: The Unification of the World.

Chapter XII: The Consolidation of Israel.

Chapter VII.

THE GREAT OVERTURNING.

During the nine hundred years which have been reviewed in the preceding chapter, the political power of the world was in the hands of the great Semitic empires. Sufficient time had been given them to make full proof of their ability to purify society and elevate mankind, but their efforts had ended in dismal failure. They had developed a gorgeous civilization—rich to excess in every feature of external magnificence, but hopelessly corrupt at heart. It was time for their experiment to end. The day of their probation, therefore, drew to a close, and in the providence of God their sceptre was to be transferred to other hands.

But at this important juncture the Hebrew, with his fully developed hope should be at hand—a witness and a factor. The people who had originally come from Chaldæa should be led back to it again. The light of life which had been given into their hands should be waved back and forth over the entire territory that stretched from the mountains of Persia to the cataracts of the Nile, in order that its reflections might be seen in the uttermost outposts of civilization. When the people of Judah were carried to Babylon, the world was on the eve of the greatest overturning which it had ever experienced. History does not afford its parallel until the destruction of the Roman empire. This revolution was to determine the destinies of the

world and the character of its civilization; and in this respect was more influential than anything which had transpired since the flood or which was to transpire until the Messiah himself should come.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Babylon, to which the Hebrew was carried, was the last and the greatest of the Semitic empires; and Nebuchadnezzar, his captor, was the last and the greatest of the Semitic conquerors. The imperial city was the most magnificent of all the cities of the ancient world, and Nebuchadnezzar was her "Head of Gold." He holds the same relation to the history of the East as Rameses II. to the history of Egypt. He also was a great builder. Scarcely any other name is found upon the bricks of Babylon. His power was much the same, his ambition and his assumptions. He proudly boasted, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty;"[1] and he is to be instrumentally credited with those qualities, both political and martial, which gave to his capital her proud pre-eminence. "Babylon the Great" was the marvel of antiquity.

But while this mighty conqueror, like Rameses before him, had raised his extensive empire to the highest pitch of magnificence, he had plunged its people into the deepest abyss of servility. In striking contrast to that people by whom his kingdom was overthrown, whose king always consulted with his nobles, and was even compelled at times to act against his own wishes in obedience to the law "which altered not," the Emperor of

(1) Dan. iv: 30.

the Babylonian empire was absolute in the fullest sense of the word. No law restrained him. His highest dignitary was a mere slave dependent upon his caprice. No officer in the state, however high his rank, was sure of his position. Whom the great king "would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive."[2] Like Rameses of old this exalted personage claimed to be a son of his god. In his sight mere men were as nothing. Nebuchadnezzar declared his own divine conception. "Merodach," he says, "created me in my mother's womb." There can scarcely be a question, therefore, that the golden image which he set up, as described in the prophecy of Daniel, and which all his subjects were commanded to worship upon the pain of being "cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace," was a likeness of himself. The incident of its erection is illustrated in many of its details by the inscriptions, or by hints from ancient authors. Diodorus of Sicily describes certain of these images which adorned the great temple of Bel, and which contained in all a mass of precious metal equal in value to $85,000,000 of our money. Herodotus testifies that there was a statue of solid gold at Babylon in the time of Xerxes, 18 feet high. Nebuchadnezzar in the spoil which he gathered throughout western Asia certainly carried off a sufficient amount of the precious metals to construct such an image as Daniel describes, especially if, as it is likely, it was not made of solid gold but only thickly over-laid with it. One of his inscriptions informs us that he plated an altar before the temple of Bel with pure gold and lined all the interior of the

[2] Dan., v: 19.

sanctuary "with beaten gold shining like the rising and setting sun." If the gigantic image which he set up was not intended to be a likeness of himself it represented Merodach, his alleged father, and therefore the worship of the image was in either case substantially the worship of himself, and designed to honor him as divine.[3]

It was, therefore, just such a time as those in which the Almighty had before interfered in the interests of his people and his truth. The blasphemies of Nebuchadnezzar, the culmination of his political power and the unspeakable immoralities of his people, were connected with the bondage of the people of God after the same example which we have observed in connection with the Egyptian oppression.

The judgment of Babylon had been decreed; but sentence would not be pronounced until due warning had been given. The revolution should be accomplished mercifully, if possible; but pitilessly if necessary. As before the Egyptian oppressor appeared Moses with his demand "Let my people go;" so before the Babylonian monarch came Daniel with the interpretation of the king's own dream—the vision of that great image of which the king was the golden head. But Nebuchadnezzar was no more affected by the warning than Pharaoh had been; nor his blasphemous career arrested. He set up the golden idol, and cast the very people of God into the furnace for not adoring it.

We observe therefore another illustration of the "fulness of time." We perceive the same leading up to the events now about to transpire, that we have

(3) Geike's *Hours with the Bible*, vi., 276.

observed in former instances and shall observe again hereafter. The great overturning is at hand. Of it the Hebrew shall be the witness and in it he shall be the most conspicuous factor. What is its character?

THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

While Nebuchadnezzar was rejoicing in his power and security, and saying to himself "I have made completely strong the defenses of Babylon; may it last forever," a more vigorous and more virtuous people than his own were growing up to the east and north of him. Across the world from east to west extends a giant wall greater than the wall of Babylon—the backbone of Asia and Europe. It begins in the Eastern Himalayas, continues in the range of the Zagros and Elburz, unites in the Caucasus and Taurus, and so follows on through the Carpathian and Styrian mountains until it emerges in the Alps and Pyrenees.[4] On the southern side of this wall the civilized nations of antiquity developed in India, Mesopotamia and Egypt; as they did centuries afterward in Greece and Italy. On the northern side of the wall those tribes were nurtured which have from time to time descended upon the south to scourge it, and subdue it; to blight its civilization, and afterwards to restore it. The mighty race which occupied the table land between the mountain range northeast of Mesopotamia was rising into importance. The special education of that nation was to ride the horse, to shoot with the bow and to speak the truth. They had started upon a career of conquest which was to end in the overthrow of Babylon itself. They believed in an eternal

(4) Stanley, III, 55.

conflict between light and darkness, and themselves the followers of light as personified in their god Ormuzd. They imbibed from their very religion an energetic and conquering spirit. The more splendor there was in life, the more was Ormuzd glorified, and Ahriman, the prince of darkness, confounded.[5] They displayed almost the same fanaticism which the Saracens subsequently showed, except that they were better able to control it; and their career of conquest was restless and rapid. They threw themselves headlong upon opposing races. Before their career was ended they had not only overrun all Asia, but they had crossed the Hellespont, to be arrested only at Salamis.

CYRUS.

Their first great commander was Cyrus, descended from the little clan known as the Achæmenians, and in whom the Medes and Persians were harmoniously united. He marched from Arbela in the year 546 B. C., crossed the Tigris and united the Median power to his own. The following year he opened the campaign against Babylonia; but being for a time repulsed he marched beyond Babylon and subjugated Lydia. Thence he returned and reopened the campaign against Babylon. The great city had already suffered the loss of its dependencies and was surrounded on all sides by the Persians and their allies. In the year 538 B. C., the decisive blow was struck and Cyrus entered his new capital in triumph. Only twenty-six years have elapsed since the death of Nebuchadnezzar. The last insufferable act of blasphemy has been performed in

[5] *Ancient World and Christianity*; De Pressense, chap. i.

Belshazzar's feast, and his degradation of the sacred vessels of Jehovah's temple. The hour of doom has struck. His "kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians." It was like the overthrow of Rome by the Northern barbarians, making way for the rise of a new civilization. The great revolution was accomplished. The political power of the earth was transferred into new and better hands.

Already they were rising in the west, as well as in the east. The same age, almost the same generation, was marked by the accession of two great potentates in Greece and in the Grecian colonies of Asia Minor—Pisistratus at Athens and Crœsus at Sardis. The same age also brings us into the midst of the first authentic personages of Roman history, the Tarquins, whose expulsion from Rome was the founding of the Republic.

EUROPEAN HISTORY BEGINS.

Here, then, is the end of Semitic domination. Henceforth the civilization of the world is to be Japhetic. Although Cyrus and his people were Asiatics, and although their governmental policy was Oriental in character, nevertheless his kinship with Japhetic nations was such that the turning-point of history was reached, whereat it was determined that the rulers of the earth for hundreds of years to come should be European, not Asiatic. From this time forward the world of Greece and Rome was to occupy the horizon of thought until the Redeemer should come.

It was a terrible overturning. Dean Stanley very beautifully describes the prophet Ezekiel[6] as sitting

[6] Chaps. xxiv–xxxii.

over against the grave of nations into which tribe after tribe and kingdom after kingdom—Tyre, Assyria, and venerable Egypt, go plunging down among the bloody corpses of the past, until now the oldest and grandest of them all was about to descend into the same sepulchral vault which had received its predecessors and rivals. The prophecy of Noah was at last fulfilled: "God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." (7)

THE SECOND EXODUS.

We know but little of the individual character of Cyrus. But it can hardly be without foundation that both in Greek and Hebrew literature he is represented as the type of a just and gentle prince. In the providence of God he was the liberator and benefactor of Israel, the best friend which the Jew has ever found in all of his checkered history; nor can the Christian forget the depth of gratitude which he owes to his memory. His religion brought him into close sympathy with the Jew, as it approached more closely to the purity of the Jewish faith than did the idolatry of Babylonia. Herodotus testifies that the Persians had no images of the gods, and neither temples nor altars, and that they considered the use of them a sign of folly. There is said to have been not a single impure, cruel or immoral practice united to any of their religious ceremonies. It is not strange, therefore, that Cyrus should have brought the Jewish captivity to an end and given the order for their return to their own land and for the rebuilding of their temple. He is

(7) Gen. ix: 27.

even dignified by Isaiah with the title, "The Lord's Anointed." No other heathen (if indeed he was a heathen) is thus dignified, or distinguished by more affectionate language.

We are now to consider the effect which was produced upon the people of Israel in consequence of their sojourn in Babylonia, and the influence which they were to exert in consequence upon the world, in its preparation for the advent of the Messiah. This effect upon the Israelites was of a two-fold character. First, religious; second, political.

THE RELIGIOUS EFFECT.

The time of the Messiah's appearing was now rapidly approaching, and it became necessary that the chosen people, through whom he was to appear, should be fitted for the period which was now to succeed, by a very peculiar training. They were, therefore, carried into Babylonia a sufficient length of time before the coming of Cyrus and the overthrow of the Semitic religions and civilization, to effectually cure them of all tendencies towards idolatry. During the seventy years of their captivity their religious life was slowly re-awakened under the influence of their misfortunes and the stimulating words of their prophets. Their servitude had not been so severe as it was in the land of Egypt. They seemed to have been settled in colonies here and there throughout the land, working in various forms of bond service, but allowed free intercourse with each other and permitted to retain their distinct organization and customs, at least to a considerable extent; but the iron of slavery had none the less

entered deeply into their souls. Contempt and hatred were lavished upon them. They were subjected to abuse which culminated frequently in the dungeon or in death. They were despoiled, robbed, betrayed, and imprisoned, until their spirits were crushed and their lives embittered. After a time their condition seems to have improved. They were permitted to hold land and cultivate vineyards and follow certain trades, and they accumulated thereby some property, doubtless in consequence of that merciful providence which was preparing the way for their return. But they grew more and more discontented with Babylonia. They recalled with more and more fervor the days of their early history, especially the times of Abraham and the patriarchs, and the longings for redemption became with them a passion which we find expressed in some of the most pathetic literature which the period has given to us. Among the Psalms which were written at, or just after this time, we may select as a single illustration the 126th: "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion we were like them that dreamed. Then was our mouth filled with laughter and our tongue with singing. Then said they among the heathen, the Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the streams in the south. They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." Sincere penitence for the past, and determination to be true to Jehovah in the future, increased. They celebrated the days of

their calamities in the siege of Jerusalem by a solemn fast. A religious revival seems to have extended among the people. The habit of observing fixed hours of prayer became common. Those who feared Jehovah were accustomed to meet together for supplication and religious counsel. The faces were always turned in prayer towards the site of the ruined temple as the spot where God had once been nearest to man.[8] The change in their condition very closely resembles the period of the Reformation. Those who were the most affected by it became the Puritans of the Hebrew church. This was the class which went back to their own land when the decree of Cyrus was promulgated. Many of the Jews had become contaminated with the idolatry and immorality of Babylon and could not be reclaimed. Babylon was to the ancient world what Paris is to the world to-day, and some of the chosen people, immersed in its pleasures and absorbed in the business opportunities which it presented, or in the opportunities of social and political advancement, preferred to remain where they were. Those who returned were those whose hearts were set upon serving the God of their fathers. The land was thus re-sown with a select seed. The clear wine of the nation was drained off, leaving the lees behind. It must be remembered, however, that the religious revival continued after the first colony of Jews had departed from Babylon, and resulted in the withdrawal of other colonies in the course of time from their heathen surroundings, and in the purification of those that remained.

In a word, then, the religious effect upon the people

(8) *Hours with the Bible;* VI, chap. 16.

was to transform the Hebrew into the Jew. The Israelite, as we know him to-day, dates back to Babylon rather than to Egypt. All those characteristic principles and emotions which we observe in the Israelite of the New Testament were begotten of the Babylonish captivity. Their special reverence for the sacred text; the class of scribes whose pleasure and duty it was to transcribe it, to study it and to expound it; the synagogue or popular religious meeting of the Jewish people; a multiplication of forms of prayer, and the indulgence and liberty to employ, upon occasion, prayers which were not liturgical—all these features, and many like them, date from that age. But, more than all else, the Hebrew became a Jew in that his exclusive views of his own religion were largely modified. There had been opened to him a much broader horizon. He had been taught a certain philosophy of history, in consonance with which, under the leadership of such prophets as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, he began to understand his true place among the nations of the world and to intelligently forecast the future. However narrow he may have subsequently become in his bigoted zeal for the law, and his punctilious formalism; it was certainly made plain to him as never before, that he had a mission to fulfill which should not be completed until the Gentiles received the light.

THE POLITICAL EFFECT.

The political effect upon the Jew is as marked as the religious one. It is also closely associated with it and is thus invested with great importance.

The modification of Hebrew seclusion, of which we have just spoken, became itself marked in connection with political affairs and reacted upon his religious sentiments. The names of a number of Hebrews who held office under the Persian kings have come down to us. We know of two prime ministers, one queen, one cup-bearer, three governors of a province, one keeper of the royal forest, and the like, and unquestionably there were many more who served in similar capacities.

It was due to the fostering friendship of the Persian kings that the Jewish people rapidly spread abroad throughout all the nations of the East until within fifty years after their emancipation, Haman, their would-be destroyer, could describe them in this language: "A certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among all the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom, their laws diverse from all people."[9] The isolation of the Jew has now ceased, and he is about to enrich the nations of the world with the principles and aspirations of his religion. The intercommunication between Jews and Gentiles answered the purpose of divine providence in maintaining a certain relation between the received religions and other religions, and between the chosen people and other peoples. The Jew became a cosmopolitan. He formed the vital bond between the nations of the old world and the new. In him the East and the West were united. Although henceforth, as always, Jerusalem was to be the religious capital of the people, yet there were two great centers of their national life, Babylon in the

(9) Esther, iii:8.

east and Jerusalem in the west. About an equal number of Jews resided in each place. There was a generous rivalry between them. Two separate schools of Jewish thought grew up, one in each of these great cities, and from these centers Jewish influences radiated throughout the eastern and the western world.

The revolution which was thus accomplished produced effects upon the Jew himself not unlike those which were produced in other nations. The Jew was revolutionized. Henceforth he was never again to be permitted to enjoy an independent national life. The time has now come when he must be a missionary and a witness to the promises of God. Again Judea is to become the highway of the nations, but not in the same sense in which it formerly was. In the days before the Babylonian captivity the Hebrews themselves made but little use of this highway. They were content to dwell in their own land. But from this time forth they themselves were to be the great travelers of earth—carrying their religious principles with them. The seclusion of the Jew has done its work. The Jew must now become, not the most secluded, but the most conspicuous person upon the earth. In the seclusion which he formerly enjoyed his religion was brought to its full development. Under the captivity which he has just suffered he has been rendered absolutely loyal to it. His character cannot now be altered by contact with the nations of the world; so while he is to freely mingle with them, it shall be only as the precious gold is freely intermingled with the baser minerals of the earth, while it is never corrupted by them.

Thus in the overturning of the old civilization and

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the transmission of power from Semitic to Japhetic nations, and also in that mighty revolution which transformed the secluded Hebrew into the "Wandering Jew," the Almighty was preparing for that greatest of all epochs, when his salvation was to be published throughout the earth.

It may possibly be discovered some day that the words of the prophet Ezekiel have a different meaning and wider interpretation than has thus far been assumed. He says:

"And thou, O deadly wounded wicked one, the Prince of Israel, whose day is come, in the time of the iniquity of the end, thus saith the Lord God; remove the mitre, and take off the crown; this shall be no more the same. Exalt that which is low, and abase that which is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: This also shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him." (Ch. xxi: 25-27, R. V.)

The words are, to say the least, remarkably applicable to the abasing of Babylonia, and the exalting of Persia, when the crown was forever taken from the head of the Semitic race.

"IT WAS WRITTEN IN

HEBREW, GREEK AND LATIN."

B. C.	HEBREW.	GREEK.	LATIN.
50	Decree of Cyrus.	Fall of Babylon. THALES.	THE TARQUINS.
25	ZERUBBABEL.	PYTHAGORAS. XENOPHANES.	THE REPUBLIC
500	ESTHER.	Marathon. Salamis.	Tribunes of People.
75	EZRA.	PERICLES.	
50	NEHEMIAH.	DEMOCRITUS. Peloponesian War.	XII TABLES.
25	MALACHI.	SOCRATES.	JUS CIVILE.
400		PLATO.	
75		ARISTOTLE.	Consuls.
50	JADDUA	ALEXANDER.	
25		PTOLEMY LAGUS. SELEUCUS I.	
300	SIMON THE JUST Septuagint.	PTOLEMY PHIL'S.	
75	CHASIDIM.	ZENO. EPICURUS.	1st Punic War.
0	Sadducees and Pharisees.		
25		ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT PTOLEMY EPIPHANES.	2nd Punic War.
200	JASON.	ANTIOCHUS EPH.	
75	JUDAS MACC'B'S		3rd Punic War.
50	SIMON.	Capture of Corinth.	Destruction of Carthage.
25	JOHN HYRCANUS		JUS GENTIUM.
100	ALEX. JANNÆUS.		SYLLA.
75	Judæa Conquered ANTIGONUS.	by	POMPEY.
50	HEROD THE GREAT	CLEOPATRA.	JULIUS CÆSAR. JUS NATURALE.
25	PHILO.	Subjection of Egypt.	AUGUSTUS.

Chapter VIII.

THE GREAT INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION.

As we enter the fifth century before Christ, there seems to be a hastening of events in the course of preparation of the world for the Redeemer. His coming draws rapidly nigh; and the movement of providence is distinctly directed to that particular influence which is to be exercised upon the nations of the earth in order to fit them for the reception of the truth accompanying salvation.[1]

What is to be done in order to prepare the way of the Lord? But a few hundred years remain until God shall command all men everywhere to repent, and the Redeemer shall send forth his apostles with the blessed message of reconciliation, to make disciples of all nations. How shall the world be made ready for the inauguration of this work? We can readily answer, even with a little thought on the subject, that these three things must certainly be secured in advance: 1st, Provision must be made for the safety of the divine messenger, as he goes upon his apostolic mission. 2d, Facility of intercourse must be insured, in order that his thought may be readily communicated to those whom he desires to influence. 3d, And such a measure of fraternal feeling

(1) A frequent reference to the accompanying chart will greatly assist the reader in locating the events of providential history and their mutual relations.

must be provided, as to secure a degree of sympathy; which sympathy shall be expressed not only in the presence of certain individuals who shall in some way be akin to him; but also in a community of thought and of custom which may render his hearers, wherever he find them, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa, disposed to listen to his message. We are not considering a theory in view of the facts of history; but reasoning from certain well-known conditions of successful effort, as they appear, for example, in the missionary operations of our own day. The successors of the Apostles have been often hindered, even in very recent times, because these things were not provided: Their persons were not secure; the language of the people to whom they went was a unknown tongue; and violent prejudices were aroused among those whom they sought to benefit. On the other hand, the most rapid progress has been made where their rights were secured by treaty; where they found a language with which they were already familiar; and where, even under a hostile government, they found a small community with whom they were able to establish some bond of common feeling; as, for example, the Armenians and Nestorians in the Turkish and Persian empires.

We find therefore, as we enter upon the study of this period, that the Lord is providing the agents which are exactly fitted to supply the necessary conditions for the rapid and successful propagation of the Gospel, in the singular dispersion of three great separate races. Of these the Greek is to supply the common language and literature; the Roman, the political power which insures equal rights to all the subjects of his vast

empire; and the Hebrew, the scattered communities among whom his own brethren who have accepted Christ, are first to preach the Gospel, and through whom they are to reach the heathen.

THE MISSION OF THE GREEK.

The mission of the Greek was one of thought, with the incomparable Greek language as its vehicle. Greek is the richest and most delicate tongue which the people of the earth have ever spoken. It can best express the highest thoughts of the mind and the worthiest emotions of the heart. It is to this day the instrument of education for the world, the source of the most refined intellectual culture. The race which spoke this language had therefore a providential calling. Their thought was first to develop and discipline the minds of men. Their language was then to be carried throughout the civilized world: and finally the Almighty himself was to cast the revelation of Jesus Christ into the forms of that language, make use of that thought and employ the very expressions which it had originated in presenting the New Covenant to the world.

The Israelite himself could scarcely have discerned, even from the heights to which his prophets had carried him, the coming of that great nation of the west and the mighty influence which it was about to exert. The whole western world at the time of his return from Babylon, seemed to him to be summed up in the only object that was within his view, the distant range of the comparatively insignificant island of Cyprus. It may be that a few Jewish seamen, who had served in

the armies of the empire of the Persians, had wandered to the west and shared in the struggles which it had waged with the east in the ineffectual effort of the "great king" to subdue its people; but no distinct voice had yet reached them from those distant regions. Soon, however, the Jew himself was to hear the accents of that Grecian tongue which was to displace his own in the language of his very synagogue and of his own sacred books.

"Not by eastern windows only
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front the sun climbs slow—how slowly,
But westward, look! the land is bright." (2)

GREEK COLONIES.

It is a most significant fact that while the power and influence of the other great peoples of the ancient world were extended by conquest the influence of the Greeks was chiefly extended by colonization.(3) From the very earliest times, even from those of which there is no authentic history, they were rovers. It is presumed that they passed over into Greece from Phrygia, in the northwestern part of Asia Minor. But they were scarcely settled in the land which was to be the seat of their dominion, before they entered upon that career which made them distinctively a maritime and commercial people. It is more than likely that they acquired their habit from contact with the Phœnicians—the first great travelers of the world. Indeed it is more than likely that we should find upon investigation, if there were sufficient material to supply it, that the Phœni-

(2) *History of the Jewish Church*; Stanley; III, p. 214.
(3) Well set forth by Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I, ch. i.

GREEK TEMPLE AT PÆSTUM.

cians themselves had a distinct part in the preparation of the world for the diffusion of Greek influence (and thus for the coming of the Redeemer,) by their communication to them of their roving inclination. In very early times different tribes of the Greeks had spread through Macedonia, Sicily, Peloponnesus; and thence to Thrace, beyond the Bosphorus, along the shores of the Black Sea, down again along the western coast of Asia Minor, returning to their home in Phrygia, colonizing Lydia, crossing over to Crete, spreading as far west as Sicily and Southern Italy. Among the cities which were founded by them during this period were Syracuse (734 B. C.), Sybaris (720 B. C.), Croton (710 B. C.), Pæstum (Poseidonia), and Cumæ (about the same date), and Byzantium (657 B. C.). Their emigrations extended still farther. Greek colonies were settled along the southern coast of what is now known as France. Massilia, the modern Marseilles (600 B. C.), was one of their colonies, and thence again they spread farther west, and settled along the coast of Spain, founding their westernmost colony at Mænoca, within 100 miles of the Straits of Gibraltar. They came also into close intercourse with Egypt and built Naucratis (550 B. C.), which was colonized from Miletus. They spread to the west, founding the flourishing City of Cyrene (630 B. C.). They settled as far west as Carthage. They were at once the rivals and successors of the Tyrians and Carthaginians, transplanting their language and their customs to every port into which their ships sailed.[4] These Greek colonies, especially those of Southern Italy, became exceedingly

(4) *History of Greece;* Grote; Chapters xx to xxii.

ingly populous, prosperous and influential, and in course of time luxurious and effeminate. Our word "*Sybarite*" still preserves to this day the history of the pleasure-loving people of that splendid city from which it is derived—a city which could once muster from its dependencies an army of 300,000 men. Yet there were other colonies equally important, such as Croton, the rival and conqueror of Sybaris, whose very senate had a thousand members![5]

These early colonies, therefore, even had there not been a later movement of vast proportions to follow them, would certainly have exercised a mighty influence upon civilization. The Greeks were the lettered people of antiquity. Wherever a love of knowledge and of art was awakened there Greek books penetrated, Greek teachers were found, and Greek art was cultivated. These colonies, even the most distant of them, were always loyal to the spirit of the fatherland. The children of colonists, who had never themselves seen Greece, yet turned to it with longing eyes and affectionately cherished its traditions.[6] The pre-eminence and permanence of Greek thought and of Greek institutions, even in those colonies, is signally illustrated in the beautiful ruins still standing in Southern Italy and which command the admiration of the tourist of our own day.

These Greek colonies, therefore, served a providential purpose. They were the heralds in early times of that general Greek influence which was one day to be felt throughout all the world, and in that portion of

(5) *History of Greece;* Grote; Chapter xxii.
(6) *History of Rome:* Mommsen; I, 184.

the world, namely, the west of Europe, to which Greek institutions were not to be carried by the conquering armies of Alexander. They held the ground by an intellectual pre-emption, thus to provide for the connection of the East with the West when the time for the hellenizing of the world should have arrived.

GREEK THOUGHT.

But before the general diffusion of the Greek language and the general influence which accompanied it, the Greeks had a distinct mission to the world in directing its thought into those channels wherein it should be led to an earnest striving after truth and a readiness to accept it when it should be made known. A beautiful figure of Mommsen's has suggested the thought that it was unquestionably a part of the divine plan that the political development of the Greeks should not keep pace with their intellectual development; but, "just as too full a bloom bursts the cup that contains it," so, on the contrary, the petty-state system of Greece insured the hellenizing of the world.(7)

The history of Greek philosophy is one of the most engaging studies which the scholar can pursue. It is impossible for us in the limits of the present work, and it is inconsistent with its design, to trace that history in detail. We must content ourselves with a brief review of the earlier systems, following it with a more particular notice of that singular period when those philosophers appeared who represented the noblest struggles and aspirations of the classic mind. We

(7) *Provinces of the Roman Empire;* Book VIII, chap. vii. ("Greek Europe.")

shall first observe the succession of several forms of philosophy, each of them dying through that which was false and incomplete in it, and each succeeded by a doctrine which was a refutation of the errors contained in its predecessor, yet containing in itself other errors, which in turn led to its own dissolution.

EARLY PHILOSOPHERS.

Strange to say, the early Greek philosophies were all originated outside of Greece, in the colonies to which we have referred. It was in Ionia, at the time when Solon was founding Athenian democracy, that philosophy, properly so called, made its first appearance with Thales of Miletus, 640 to 550 B. C. He and the philosophers who immediately followed him represented the gross naturism which predominated in Asia Minor. Thales supposed that water was the first principle of all things, from which they arose by its solidification. It has been held that Thales formed this conception during a visit to Egypt, beholding the blessings of which the Nile was the instrumental source, and being impressed with the divine honors which were paid to the stream.[8] Other authorities, however, question whether Thales ever journeyed so far, and deny this assumption.[9] His philosophy rather betrays the first independent effort of the Greek mind to extricate itself from the ancient fable which represented the earth as floating upon water, and manifests the influence of the old popular theories. Water—that is to say, humidity—appeared to him to be the condition and source of life, the germinal principle, the explanation

(8) *Presbyterian Review;* Vol. X, No. 38.

(9) *History of Ancient Philosophy;* Ritter, Book II, ch. 3.

of all nutrition and development. Even his notion that humidity is the source of heat must be referred to the old legend that the sun and stars were nourished by the vapors arising from the sea. He regarded the entire world, therefore, as endowed with a living principle; an ensouled thing, capable of self-development by reason of its humidity. He believed every portion of the world to be invested with this life principle, which in some things—the magnet in particular, received a special manifestation. Such was Greek philosophy in the doctrine of its first expounder.[10]

The successors of Thales supposed the great primary essence to be an infinite one, of which present existences are parts, and from which they have become in some way detached. Anaximander, his disciple, was one of the mightiest brains of that early philosophic age. He it was who made the first geographical map, and who, if he did not himself invent the sun-dial, at least explained and popularized it.[11] His master committed little, if anything, to writing; Anaximander composed the first philosophic treatise. He first uses the Greek term for the principle of all things (ἀρχή), and called it the infinite (το ἄπειρον). The words φύσις (from which our "physics"), κόσμος "cosmos" and εἴδωλον ("idol"—but used in a metaphysical sense as against polytheism), first appear with these writers. He doubtless understood by the primeval and infinite the mixture of all elementary parts from which individuals issued by separation, an idea very similar to the ancient notion of chaos. Nevertheless he regarded

(10) *Greek Philosophy;* Zeller, § 10; Ritter, Book iii, ch. 3.
(11) Grote, ch. xvi.

this mixture as a unity; immortal, indestructible, and invested with immeasurable energy. But the multiplicity of elements of which this unity is composed are in time subdivided, thus producing all phenomena. Such, in brief, was his theory.

These philosophers were succeeded by those of the Pythagorean school, which accepted dualism and endeavored to formulate it. Its founder, who was born at Samos about 580 B. C., came to Croton at the close of the century. Thus, as the first great school of Greek philosophy is found in Asia Minor, the second is located in Southern Italy.

The Greek colonies of this section nad arrived at their most flourishing stage; they were wealthy and prosperous, and many of their citizens had carried off the honors in the Olympic games. The unfortunate conflict between Sybaris and Croton had not yet occurred, and the dual colony furnished a splendid field for the display of the philosopher's genius.[12]

The Pythagorean philosophy is a radical departure from the doctrines which preceded it, in that it starts from the form rather than from the matter of the sensible universe. The system is derived from a certain fondness for mathematical studies which first engaged the attention of its disciples and which they had greatly advanced. Their leading principle is advanced in the formula, "Number (ἀριθμός) is the essence (οὐσία) or first principle (ἀρχή) of all things." This formula, however, must be taken symbolically. We must remember the peculiar bias of their minds and thereby construe the many forced similitudes which they em-

[12] Grote, xxxvii.

ployed. With them number was the unity of two contraries, the odd and the even. "One" is both odd and even. It is therefore the unity, the very essence of number, the absolute number. Their formula thus becomes but their way of saying that the All is from the original One, which One is the Divine. From this primitive number all things are evolved. But inasmuch as this primitive number is both odd and even, all the elements of nature, however mutually diverse their character, are derived therefrom. They arranged these elements thus:[13]

The odd and the even;
The limited and the limitless;
The right and the left;
The male and the female;
Light and darkness;
Good and evil, etc.

This was dualism. They recognized two principles ever opposed to each other, of which one was the material and the other the spiritual, yet requiring the impossible subordination of the material. Their doctrines consequently led them into nihilism—the dreariest conclusion of the human mind.

The natural evolution of this school produced that of Elea, the third great system of Greek thought, the second of lower Italy.[14] It is distinguished from its predecessors by its reckless disregard of sensible phenomena. It represented an extreme idealism. It maintained that the source of all truth was independent of and superior to sense. All the arguments of Xenophanes, its founder (570–480 B. C.), may be reduced

(13) Ritter, Book IV; chap. ii; Zeller, § 15.
(14) Ritter, Book V.

to two heads: A conception of the deity as an all-powerful being, and the denial of all beginning of being. From his conception of the deity proceeded a train of reasoning in which all multiplicity was denied. A plurality of gods he held to be inconceivable, inasmuch as his theory implied, that since God was all-powerful, there could be no division of his omnipotence, else it would be thus destroyed. He was thus brought into collision with polytheism, which he regarded as an antiquated prejudice. His theories led him into the strangest speculations. He held that God was neither moved nor unmoved; neither limited nor unlimited; that he was without parts and without form. While he held that the primary elements were four—earth, air, fire and water, yet he endeavored to find in the multiplicity of all phenomena a single entity or revelation of the divine essence. The individual had no permanence or no being by itself. God was the All. And yet, since he found himself unable to attain to any knowledge of God except through the knowledge of the individual and of individual phenomena, he confessed his ultimate ignorance and doubt. Thus the pantheistic theory of the Eleatic school became involved in a dualistic difficulty; which, while it differed in form from that of the Pythagoreans, was the same in substantial meaning. It endeavored to resolve all phenomena into a single essence; but in order to do so it was compelled to deny that for any subjective human presentation there was some corresponding objective truth This was extreme idealism, in which dualism resulted from the conflict between the sensible and the supra-sensible. With Empedocles—a

later exponent of this school—this dualism was presented in the terms of *love* and *hate*. The All was held to be the result of their conflict! He began with the combination of all things in a perfect unity. The first creative power was love, but the formative power in the world was hate. Hence delusion, instability, error and misery. Thus the radical defect in this system is seen to be its failure to apprehend the positive distinction between the conditional and the unconditional. The result was that evil was considered as merely phenomenal and moral improvement was regarded as purely negative — the renunciation of a worthless, phenomenal life.

The three men Thales, Pythagoras and Xenophanes, whose various theories we have briefly discussed are called by Grote[15] "a great and eminent triad." They were the best exponents of Greek intellect each in his own generation. We have given this hurried sketch of their philosophies that the reader may understand something of the distracted state of the Greek mind—the best of the ancient world, in its efforts to discover and state the truth. We have observed the earnestness and energy of this intellect, as it turned from one theory to another in its sad and vain endeavor. It was now to reject them all together and for a whole weary century to treat serious philosophy as a grim jest, and truth as a mere phantom of the mind. It was to resign itself to the miserable conclusion that it was impossible to arrive at any certainty with regard to those profound questions which had been so long in debate.

The herald of this period appeared in Democritus,

(15) *History of Greece;* Part I, ch. xvi.

founder of the Atomistic school, born about 460 B. C. In his theories philosophic thought experienced a most violent reaction. He absolutely denied the supra-sensible and rejected the supernatural. He explained the formation of all things by the doctrine of a fortuitous concourse of material atoms, drawn in an eternal vortex, blending and separating at the mere sport of chance. He sought for no first principle, for no god, for no morality. To the idealism of the school of Elea he opposed an equally absolute materialism and the philosophy of the preceding generation was turned upside down.[16]

Observe now, that we have had dualism, pantheism, idealism and materialism in order. The final result was a hopeless confusion of thought. Between the exaggerated tendencies of opposing leaders the Greek mind was painfully tossed. What theory should it receive or should it reject all?

The question was first answered by the appearance of the Sophists, a word originally applied to all students, but now assigned to a specific class. The reply of the Sophists was given in discarding serious philosophy altogether. At first they were mere rhetoricians and teachers of manners, traveling from place to place, remaining in any locality only so long as students could be found who had the means to employ them.[17] Philosophy became in their hands a "bread-and-butter profession." They made a sport of its loftier pretensions. They set one philosopher against another, and in view of their mutual contradictions declared that it was impossible to arrive at the truth; that upon any

(16) Zeller, § 24. (17) Ritter, B. VI.

given question two opposite but equally plausible answers might be made. They therefore ridiculed such pursuits and sought the repression of all discussion upon abstruse subjects. Let men be taught graceful diction and engaging demeanor; how to write, speak and act so as to secure influence—that is all-sufficient. Such appear to have been their principles. They aimed solely at effect. They taught how to plead opposite sides of the same case with equal force. They polished only the outside of the cup and platter. It must perhaps be granted that Grote,[18] in opposition to the majority of scholars, has cleared their school of the deliberate attempt to confuse the intellect of Greece and defile her moral sense; but their influence was nevertheless destructive both of intellect and morals. Having no regard for serious things and making no study of serious subjects, they were noted for their atheism and impiety. The results of their teachings—which had been very widely given, was the deepest possible unrest. Philosophy fell into discredit, and positive despair of ever knowing the truth took possession of the mind. It was one of the saddest periods in the whole history of Greece. All certainty had vanished. There was no rule of thought or of conduct, and the only benefit which the Sophists conferred upon their age was the development of a polished rhetoric which, however, had neither heart, nor thought in it.[19]

The time is now ripe for the appearing of one who shall extricate the Greek, and with him every thinking

(18) *History of Greece;* ch. lxvii.

(19) *Religions Before Christ;* De Pressense, p. 104. *Ancient World and Christianity;* p. 351. See also a fine summary of this entire period in Ritter, Book VI, ch. 5.

man, from this terrible "Slough of Despond" into which the course of philosophy, and especially the destructive work of the Sophists had plunged him, to bring him at least to its borders, where he may be within reach of the hand of "Help." Some deliverer should be at hand, who, if it be not the Messiah himself, shall be at least one of his forerunners. There is not only a singular dearth of great thinkers, but of good men and strong men of every class. The long struggles between the contending states has just been brought to an end in the close of the Peloponnesian War. Every one of the great statesmen of Athens has passed away, and with them every one of the great writers who belonged to the period of Pericles. Thucydides is dead—his exciting tale left unfinished in the middle of a sentence. Euripides is dead, torn in pieces by the hounds of the king, his royal patron, in Macedonia. Sophocles has departed this life full of honors. And as though to crown what would at first appear to be the dissolution of the Greek influence with a chaplet of horrors, a terrible plague has been raging at Athens. But under the mighty hand of God all this has been permitted in order to make ready for one of the greatest teachers of the heathen world. Not only has the field been cleared for him by the departure of the great authors whose names have just been mentioned; not only has a deep desire been created for the coming of such as he by the despair in which the intellect was plunged, and the sufferings which the body has endured; but the matchless language of Greece is now ready for his use in the perfection to which it has been brought by the masters of literature who preceded him, and Attic prose, the

model of all time, is cast in its final complete and most expressive form. Moreover, as though to give the moment the more distinguished providential character, his appearance is coincident with that of the last Jewish prophet and his death occurs at the same time, almost in the same year, with the death of Malachi. *The formal tuition of the Jew is ended as that of the Greek is begun.*

SOCRATES.[20]

With the advent of Socrates we are introduced to a revolution in the domain of mind very similar to that which occurred in the domain of politics when Cyrus entered Babylon. While it was his mission to teach men how little they knew, it was also his mission, in opposition to the Sophists, to teach men that at least a little might be definitely known and implicitly relied upon. His peculiar work was to divert their attention from the world without, and direct it to the world within themselves. This was due to his recognition of the discrepancy between what we call scientific and religious truth, and his devotion to phenomena belonging to the latter. The substance of his philosophy is all included in the celebrated inscription over the entrance to the chief shrine at Delphi, which is attributed to him, "*Know thyself.*"

It is not necessary to describe his personal appearance nor to enter into the details of his life. He was born of humble parentage; his father was a sculptor of little repute. He served an apprenticeship in his workshop and grew to manhood before the conception of his calling dawned upon him. He also served as a soldier

(20) On this entire section, Grote, ch. lxvii; Ritter, Vol. II.

for a while, and did not begin to teach until the attention of others had been directed to him by his singular habit of engaging for protracted periods in a state of abstract reverie. As he became aware of his own power and his possession of certain methods and principles which were far superior to those of the men about him, he began his work by simply entering into conversation with such persons as met him, until his fame was secured and his sayings were repeated from mouth to mouth. From this time to the close of his life the system was nothing; the man was everything. Probably the best way in which to convey a correct estimate of the quality of his doctrine is by quotations from his own words, as reported by his disciples. The following passages are taken from the "Apology," the address delivered to his judges upon his trial:[21]

"Now I, citizens, do perhaps differ from most men in this respect: that if I might claim to be wiser than any one else, it would be in this, that not knowing much about the things of the world below I am convinced that I do not know. But that it is wicked and shameful to do wrong and to disobey any one, whether god or man, who is better than yourself, this I do know. From fear, then, of those evils which I know to be evils, I would neither fear nor flee that which, for aught I know, may be a good; so that, if you were now to acquit me on condition that I no longer spend my time in the search and pursuit of wisdom, I should say to you, 'Athenians, I love and cherish you, but I shall obey the gods rather than you;' and as long as I draw breath and have the strength I shall never cease to follow philosophy and to exhort and persuade any one of you whom I happen to meet, saying, as is my wont, 'How is it, friend, that you, an Athenian, of the city greatest and of most repute for wisdom and power, are not ashamed to be taking

[21] The quotations are taken from the excellent little hand-book, "Socrates," published by Scribners.

thought for glory and honor and for your position, that they may become as great as possible, while you take neither thought nor heed for wisdom and truth and for your soul that it may become as good as possible?" [22]

"And now let us reason in this way and we shall see what great hope there is that death is a good, for death must be one of two things: either he who is dead becomes as naught and has no consciousness of anything, or else, as men say, there is a certain change and a removal of the soul from this place to some other. Now, if there be no consciousness, and death be like a sleep in which the sleeper has no dreams, then it were a wonderful gain indeed; for I think that if any one were called upon to single out that night in which he had slept so soundly as to have had no dreams at all, and set against it all the other nights and days of his life, to declare after due thought how many had been better and sweeter than that one, I think, I say, that even the great king [23] himself, not to speak of any private person, would find these so few in number that they might easily be counted in comparison with all the other days and nights of his life. If death, therefore, be such as this, I call it a gain; for all eternity would thus appear no longer than a single night. But if, on the other hand, death be a transition to another place, and if it be true, as has been said, that all who have died are there, what, O judges, could be a greater good than this? For, if a man, being set free from those who call themselves judges here, is to find, on arriving in Hades, those true judges who are said to administer justice in the unseen world, is transition thither to be for the worse? What would not any one of you give to converse with Orpheus and Musæus and Hesiod and Homer? I, at least, would gladly die many times if this be true. * * * What, O judges, would a man not give to meet him who led the great army against Troy, or Ulysses, or Sisiphus, or the thousand others, both men and women, whom one might mention. * * * But you, too, O judges, it behooves to be of good hope about death, and to believe that this, at least, is true: There can no evil befall a good man, whether he be alive or dead, nor are his affairs uncared for by the gods. Neither has this thing happened to me by chance, for I am persuaded that

(22) *Apology;* 29.
(23) The King of Persia.

to die now and be released from worldly affairs is best for me, and this is why the sign [24] did not turn me back. Wherefore I bear no malice at all against my accusers or against those who have condemned me. * * * But now it is time for us to go away, I to die, you to live. Which of us is going to the better fate is unknown to all save God." [25]

The following quotations are from the Phædo, the report by Plato of his last conversation on the day before his death:

"This is why I do not grieve as might be expected, but am of good hope that there is something in store for us after death, something as has been said of old, far better for the good than for the wicked." "What is death but the separation of the soul from the body, for is not dying to have the soul and the body released one from the other so that each exists by itself? Is death anything else than this?" "It is well nigh time that I should think of the bath, for it seems better for me to bathe before drinking the poison, and not give the women the trouble of washing my body."

Crito asked him how he wished to be buried and he answered:

"Just as you please, if you only get hold of me and don't let me escape you." "I cannot persuade Crito," he said to his friends, "that this Socrates who is now talking with you is my very self. His mind is full of the thought that I am he who he is to see in a little while as a corpse, and so he asks how he shall bury me. Thus, that long argument of mine, the object of which was to show that after I have drank the poison I shall be among you no longer, but shall go away to certain joys prepared for the blessed, seems to him but idle talk, uttered only to keep up your spirits as well as my own."

After he had bathed, his children were brought to him, and the women of his household. After talking with them and giving his last instructions he bade them

[24] He refers to his inward "divinity."
[25] *Apology;* 40–42.

depart, and continued his conversation with his friends until the approach of sunset. At this time the executioner arrived and said to him:

"I shall not have to reproach you, O Socrates, as I have others, with being enraged and cursing me when I announced to them by order of the magistrates, that they must drink the poison; but during this time of your imprisonment I have learned to know you as the noblest and gentlest and best man of all that have come here; and so I am sure that you will not be angry with me now, that you know the real authors of this and will blame them alone, and now that you know what it is that I have come to announce, farewell, and try to bear as best you may the inevitable."

Upon this he burst into tears and went away. Socrates looking after him said:

"May it fare well with you also. We will do what you have bidden."

Turning to his companions he added:

"How courteous the man is. The whole time I have been here he has been constantly coming to see me and has frequently talked with me and shown himself to be the kindest of men. But come, Crito, we must obey him. Let the poison be brought, if it is already mixed. If not, let the man mix it."

The author narrates that when the cup was handed to Socrates he put it to his lips and "right easily and blithely drank it off." His companions were in tears and some of them wept aloud—not for him, as Plato assures us, but for their own fate in being deprived of such a friend. Socrates unbraided them, saying:

"What are you doing, you strange people? Why, my chief reason for sending away the women was that we might be spared such discordance as this; for I have heard that a man ought to die in solemn stillness. So pray be composed and restrain yourselves."

He walked about for a time until his limbs were

paralyzed, then cast himself upon the couch and said that in a few moments the poison would reach his heart as he was already cold up to his waist. Then uncovering his face he said:

"Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Pay the debt and don't neglect it."

Crito attempted to answer him, but Socrates had passed beyond the reach of hearing. He had gone where neither companions nor judges would be able to find him. "Such was the end," says Plato, "of our friend; the man whom we may well call of all men known to us of our day the best, and besides the wisest and the most just."

THE INFLUENCE OF HIS PHILOSOPHY.

It is apparent from the quotations which have been given that the great work of Socrates was in directing the attention of men to the knowledge of themselves and the care of their immortal part. He sought to persuade them to cultivate such a character as should insure the company of the good and true in another world, if indeed there was another world. He seems to have been wholly occupied with this attention to the soul. He turned away from the study of material nature. He had no time for such inquiries. What was honorable, what was just, what was wise, what was courageous, what was good for an individual, a state, a nation—these were his questions. His teaching was a steady protest up to his very death against the state of thought which had been introduced by the philosophers who immediately preceded him. Their falsehoods and sophistries had destroyed all certainty

with regard to truth and goodness, and involved the moral law in the same doubt and confusion as scientific truth. Socrates sought to re-establish the certainty of both, and that by joining them together. According to him virtue and knowledge were identical. "There is," he says, "but one good, knowledge; and but one evil, ignorance." He would not allow any speculation to interfere with moral obligation, and this led him to identify virtue with knowledge. There was no distinction in principle between the good and the true. There were not two laws, one for the mind and one for the will, but only one law. While the Sophists had raised the will of the individual to the dignity of a law, Socrates sought to bring this subjective law into subordination to the objective law of existence. He saved philosophy from being a merely intellectual pursuit by attaching it to the issues of life.[26] Such philosophy was essentially religious. What Cicero declares in a frequently quoted passage, that "Socrates drew philosophy from heaven to earth," perfectly characterizes his work; for Socrates was the first to lead philosophy out of the path of hypothetical speculation and to make it descend from the mystic heaven of the philosophers who preceded him, to enter into man and to give to him a mind and a conscience; in short, to enable him to "know himself."

The influence of Socrates may be summed up under the four following heads:

1st. *He taught his followers a becoming reverence in view of the dignity of the human soul, the power of the Supreme Being and the possibility of an eternal*

(26) See De Pressense's *Ancient World and Christianity*, pp. 356–364.

existence. He would have no trifling with life or with the questions that pertained to it. He was in the most serious earnest, listening for some voice which he felt sure would be heard some day; looking and waiting for some great teacher whom he felt sure would some day appear. He himself followed the admonitions of what he believed to be a divinity within him, which he was never able to describe, but which he claimed implicitly to obey. He declared that he submitted himself to trial, bore the reproaches of his enemies, and would endure cheerfully the sentence of his judges, because he had been urged to do so by this divinity, and was not willing to offer any attempt at resistance. He counseled absolute obedience to the will of the divine upon the part of others. He looked with contempt upon all arts of human prudence, simply because he believed that the divine was leading. He prayed that the gods would give him those things which the gods themselves believed to be good for him. No wonder that a man with such revolutionary views as these should have been condemned for what we call in modern days "heresy." It is not surprising that they charged him with corrupting their youth, if to teach such views as his cotemporaries were absolutely unable to understand was a species of corruption. But meanwhile, as has often been the case, we, standing in the clearer light, look back upon him and discern in him one immeasurably more reverent than those who condemned him. He stands at the beginning of an age when, even among the heathen, there were to be found certain "devout persons" who in their earnest struggle after the light and their solemn determination

to keep themselves pure should feel after and at last find him who "is not far from every one of us."

2d. *He administered a decided check to the ancient polytheism.* It is true he was not able fully to break with its superstitions, and he was not wholly free from dualism and some other evil forms of the old philosophy. He seems still to believe in "gods many and lords many," yet with him the plurality of gods seems to end in unity, and in the "Memorabilia" he distinguishes the Creator of the world from other gods, and conceives of him as the soul of the universe after the analogy of the body and mind of man.(27) The gods were but manifestations of the one absolute good, which he called, for sake of convenience and because the name was familiar to his fellows, "*Zeus.*" In this way he escaped a challenge to the popular faith. Yet, from the very uncertainty of his own mind, his position with regard to such matters cannot be accurately determined. His teachings, however, certainly carried his disciples far beyond the popular superstitions. If we endeavor to place ourselves in the position which he occupied in the midst of a careless, thoughtless, godless age, we shall recognize in him one who with the most earnest spirit was still tossed between the horns of a dilemma unable to extricate himself, yet one in whom a mighty stride was made in the thought of the heathen world toward the acknowledgment of that "Unknown God" who was afterwards proclaimed in the same city wherein he had taught. Towards that Unknown God he set the human intellect in motion. This is all proved by the simple testimony of

(27) Zeller, § 33.

Xenophon, who says: "Socrates, by his moral inquiries, was the first to instruct his disciples in the true nature of the gods"—by which he doubtless meant the Divine Power which rules the world.[28]

3d. *He inculcated a distinct hope of immortality.* His tone was not absolutely confident, yet his arguments were such as to silence forever the disciples of nihilism, while his resignation in the approach of death comforted and confirmed his own. Some have thought that the last direction which he gave to his followers to sacrifice a cock to the god of healing implied something much deeper than appeared upon the surface, —that it was not intended to be a recognition of the divinity of Æsculapius; but that it implied an expectation of spiritual health reserved for him beyond the grave—a health never to be broken by sickness nor by death.

It must be confessed with regard to this doctrine of immortality that the philosophy of Socrates was a tremendous "*IF*," but even so that "If" was a blessed one. It expressed hopeful inquiry rather than despairing doubt. It represented not the departure from faith, but the approach thereto. It was the twilight not of the setting, but of the rising sun. As a preparation for the promulgation of that "blessed hope" its value can not be overestimated.

4th. *He gave supreme importance and a supreme place to the human conscience.* We might almost call him the "Discoverer of the conscience." He taught that a man must manifest an immovable fidelity to his convictions, and he himself set the example to his dis-

[28] See Ritter; Book VII, ch. 2.

ciples. Upon the other hand he probed the conceited and shallow and led them to expose themselves, and thus brought about that self-judgment which was necessary in order to prepare men for the statements of the gospel and to show them their need of a Saviour. "The wise question," said Socrates, "is half of knowledge. A life without cross-examination is no life at all."

It thus appears that the great vocation to which Socrates was called was to make the world feel an anxiety for something which had not as yet been supplied, by developing aspirations and emphasizing needs which heathenism, even in its best forms, was unable to satisfy. He read the law which St. Paul declares was "written upon the heart." His doctrine filled a place analagous to that of the Mosaic law, though vastly inferior to it. It had the same relation to his people which the doctrine of Moses had to his. It was a "School-master to bring them to Christ."

During his last days he spoke to his disciples of one for whose coming he had long looked and whom he called "The Charmer." Founded upon this incident Mrs. Stowe has written the following beautiful poem.

We need some Charmer, for our hearts are sore
With longings for the things that may not be—
Faint for the friends that shall return no more,
Dark with distrust, or wrung with agony.

What is this life? And what to us is death?
Whence came we? Whither go? And where are those
Who in a moment, stricken from our side,
Passed to that land of shadow and repose?

Are they all dust? And dust must we become?
Or are they living in some unknown clime?

Shall we regain them in that far-off home,
And live anew beyond the waves of time?

Oh man divine! on thee our souls have hung;
Thou wert our teacher in these questions high;
But ah! this day divides thee from our side,
And veils in dust thy kindly guiding eye."

So spake the youth of Athens, weeping round,
When Socrates lay calmly down to die—
So spake the sage, prophetic of the hour,
When earth's fair Morning Star should rise on high.

They found him not, those youths of soul divine—
Long seeking, wandering, watching on life's shore;
Reasoning, aspiring, yearning for the light,
Death came and found them—doubting as before.

But years passed on, and lo! the Charmer came;
Pure, silent, sweet as comes the silver dew;
And the world knew him not—he walked alone
Encircled only by his trusting few.

Like the Athenian sage—rejected, scorned,
Betrayed, condemned, his day of doom drew nigh;
He drew his faithful few more closely round,
And told them that *his* hour was come to die.

"*Let not your heart be troubled*," then he said;
"My Father's house has mansions large and fair;
I go before you to prepare your place;
I will return to take you with me there."

And since that hour the awful foe is charmed,
And life and death are glorified and fair;
Whither he went we know—the way we know,
And with firm step press on to meet him there.

THE SUCCESSORS OF SOCRATES.—PLATO.

The mission of Socrates did not end with his death. He committed his doctrines to certain disciples in whom it was to take on a systematic form. In passing to

Plato, then, we are still under the influence of Socrates. We scarcely know whether the one is speaking to us or the other—though the pupil is the more speculative philosopher. But there is an elevated tone in the system of Plato, so that turn where we will in his immortal productions, we find ourselves in the lofty regions of the spiritual altitudes, and breathe their bracing atmosphere. The philosophy of Plato was a school in which not only many heathen were led towards the fold of the Gospel, but also not a few who were born and reared under Christian influences. No work of any heathen writer has been so much admired as his "Republic," and the description of "the just man" which he gives, is the most remarkable of all uninspired description of character. He says, "This must be our notion of the just man, that even when he is in poverty or sickness or any other seeming misfortune, all things will in the end work together for good to him in life and death, for the gods have a care of any one whose desire is to become just and to be god-like, as far as man can attain his likeness by the pursuit of virtue."[29] Again, "No man but an utter fool and coward is afraid of death itself; but he is afraid of doing wrong, for to go to the world below having a soul which is like a vessel full of injustice is the last and worst of all evils." Again, "The next best thing to a man being just, is that he should become just and be chastised and punished."[30]

But it is true of Plato as it was of Socrates that he only approached but never reached the religious con-

(29) *Republic*, § 613.

(30) See *Ancient World and Christianity*, 368. Beginnings of Christianity, p. 147.

ceptions either of the Old Testament or of the New. The god of Plato never attains to true being. He is at once universal and impersonal. Although when he enters into relation with man he seems to act as if he were endowed with personality, yet he is only a sublime idea—absolute reason and goodness, and never enters into actual communication with men.[31] Indeed the conception of Plato presents a sad blemish in its persistent dualism. God is represented as eternally bound to undisciplined matter, which he did not produce and which he cannot destroy. There results a diversity, an incoherence in the universe, which is never subdued. Evil underlies the fairest creation, and wherever good abounds, evil the more multiplies. His whole system, taking character from this formative idea, was faulty and misleading. His notion of sin was that our actual condition is only one of decadence, natural not moral. It was the result of the conditions of our life in which there was an admixture of the contingent and material element. It was the necessity imposed upon it by our existence as finite beings. Therefore, while Plato seems to feel the need of a redemption, his conception of its nature is radically defective. He knows of no *moral* redemption, but only of one wherein the soul is purified from the pollution which is supposed to be connected with its material surroundings. The redemption is therefore intellectual rather than spiritual. The following language is his own illustration of his teaching:

"Behold human beings living in an underground den, which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the

(31) Ritter, B. viii, ch. 3.

den. They have been here from their childhood and have their legs and their necks chained so that they cannot move and can only see before them, but the chains are arranged in such a manner as to prevent them from turning their heads. Above and behind them the light of a fire is blazing at a distance. They see only their own shadows or the shadows of one another which the fire throws on the opposite side of the wall."

The escape from this condition was to be found in the study of philosophy.[32] Plato attempted to demonstrate that the philosopher might be brought at last to the place where he could realize the good as well as admire it.

While, therefore, this philosophy was sadly, pitiably unsatisfactory, it gathered up the noblest elements in the thought of those that had preceded it to purify and harmonize them. Plato in formulizing his system carried on and completed the work of Socrates. The voice of conscience still reverberated in the human heart, and while Greece would not listen to Socrates it learned to listen to Plato. For while his revolution was austere in thought it was conveyed in language so beautiful that a nation of artists like the Greeks were diverted by the beauty of its form to listen to the teaching of its substance. Socrates had cut the tables of the law in granite. Plato inscribed them upon the purest of white marble, carved them in the most artistic letters, and caught thereby the gaze of the world.

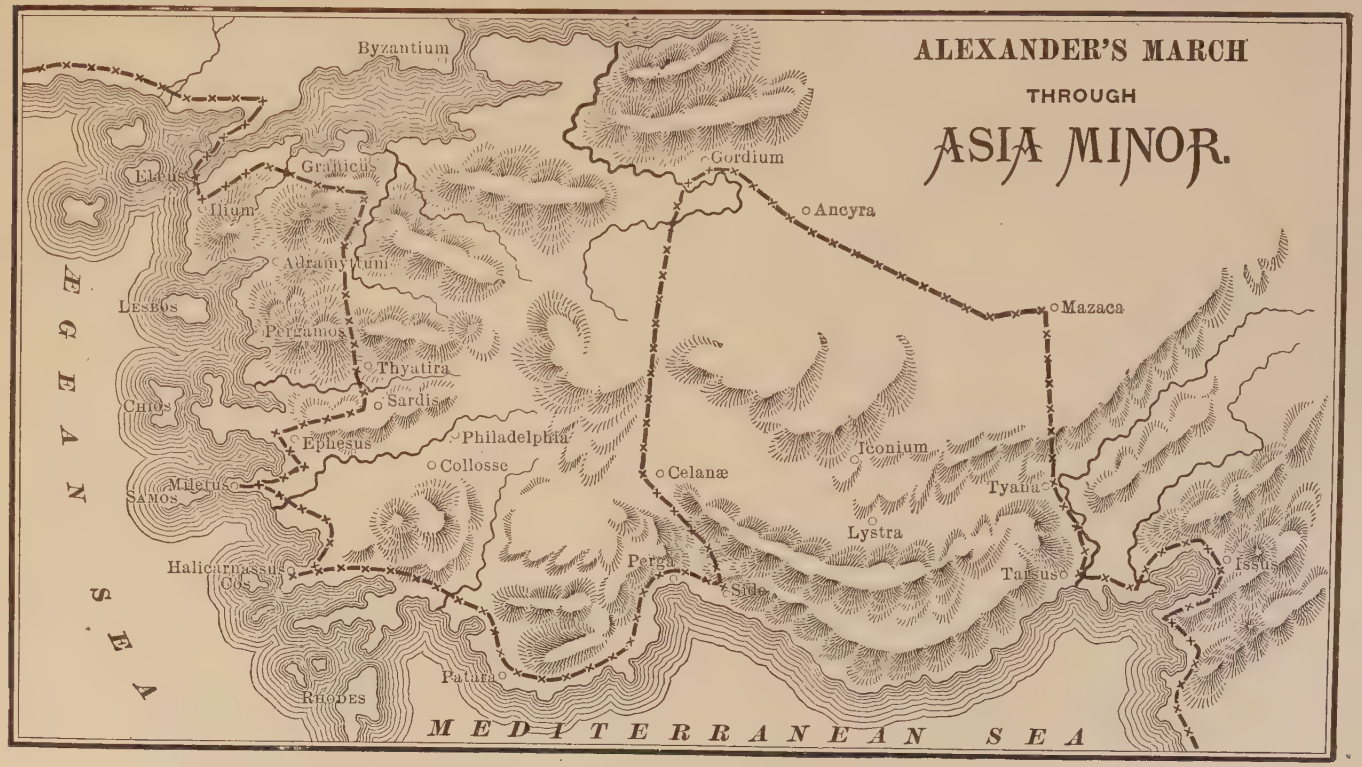
ARISTOTLE.

Plato was succeeded in turn by Aristotle. His peculiar work was still further to elaborate the method of philosophy and to originate its nomenclature. While

(32) Zeller, § 47. *Republic*, 514.

he followed Plato in some particulars, his philosophy was largely a departure from the doctrine of his teacher. We shall not be able to follow him in any analysis of his system. It is sufficient to say with regard to him, as we have found it necessary to say both of Plato and Socrates (and as we are bound to say of all the other great thinkers of the ancient world), that since the Unknown God was not revealed to him as a personal creator he made shipwreck upon the rock of dualism. It was impossible for any one untaught by the Spirit of God to reconcile mind and matter, or to explain the conflict between good and evil, even though he lived in that wonderful city wherein the development of the human mind reached its highest point. Athens herself must wait for the coming of the apostle of him for whom her philosophers had prepared the way, with his inspired statement: "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship him declare I unto you. *God that made the world and all things therein!*"

Still there had been accomplished, under the direction of divine providence, a great intellectual revolution, and not Athens only, but the world, was made ready to receive the doctrine to the borders of which the mind had now been brought.


ALEXANDER'S MARCH
THROUGH
ASIA MINOR.
Byzantium
Granicus
Ilium
Gordium
Ancyra
Adramyttum
Lesbos
Mazaca
Pergamos
Thyatira
Chios
Sardis
Ephesus
Philadelphia
Iconium
Collosse
Celanæ
Miletus
Samos
Tyana
Lystra
Halicarnassus
Cos
Perga
Side
Tarsus
Issus
Patara
Rhodes
AEGEAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Chapter IX.

THE HELLENIZING OF THE NATIONS.

Before proceeding to the substance of the present chapter, let us give good heed to the nature of the period which we have now reached. Through the extension of the Greek colonies we have observed a language spreading over the world, which was at once the most flexible in form, the most beautiful in sound and the most impressive in meaning which the world had ever known. We must give due emphasis to the fact that this language was not to receive a second and wider distribution until there had been imported into it certain forms of speech and certain technical words relating to God, the soul and immortality, whose use had become general and whose meaning was therefore familiar and which would thereby be adapted to the purpose of Christ and the work of his Apostles.

We have therefore observed the rise of certain philosophers without whom the conscience of the heathen world would have been apparently overwhelmed. We have given some attention to the work of these great thinkers. We have observed the course of early Greek philosophy in its first rebellion against polytheism and its first deflection toward the hidden truth which was believed to lie in some monotheistic formula. We have seen how in their groping after truth these philosophers were arrayed one against another so that their systems became mutually contradictory and

destructive. Our attention has been directed to the rise of that philosophy which succeeded, and we have observed that upon his death the influence of the Socratic system was deeply impressed upon his age and country. We have seen that his disciples manifested a remarkable fidelity to his teachings, and that there arose a succession of pagan prophets at whose call the world awoke to some knowledge of its condition and under whose teaching its moral sense was quickened. But, so far, all this is local; and except the influence can be in some way extended it may also be exceedingly short-lived. What remains, therefore, to be done in order that the effects which have been produced may be indefinitely extended and that thus the way of the coming Lord may be the more completely prepared?

It appears to us as we review the events of that age like the movement of a most magnificent drama whose stage is the whole civilized earth, whose actors are the most distinguished men that inhabit it; but whose master-spirit is the Lord God Almighty himself. The empire of ancient thought is in process of reconstruction. The Persian empire is also about to be overthrown. The world, both intellectual and political, is to be turned upside down, and the preparation of providence for the intellectual revolution in the maturity of the Socratic philosophy is coincident with the preparation of providence for the political revolution in the rise of the Macedonian power. All things are ready and the day of the Lord is hastening on. Mark the next act—

EXIT SOCRATES; ENTER ALEXANDER!

Socrates had been dead forty-four years; Plato was an old man of seventy-two; Aristotle was just approaching the full development of his intellectual powers, when he appeared who was to be their conscious agent in the dissemination of their doctrines, and thus the unconscious agent in preparing the way of the Gospel.

Alexander was born July, B. C. 356. It has been often remarked by historians, that upon the very night of his birth the great temple of Diana at Ephesus was destroyed by fire. It is not strange that the student of providential history, who has learned to connect the spread of the Greek language with the proclamation of the Gospel, and who remembers the history of the subsequent apostolic struggle with the votaries of Diana, in the city of Ephesus, should see in the coincidence of these two events something more than a mere coincidence. Ephesus had been untrue to her Greek traditions, and her safety had been secured by an unworthy alliance with the Persian oppressor Her great temple, moreover, was expressive of the blending of the licentious Asiatic mythology with the purer faith of the ancient Hellenes.

It is, to say the least, very striking that the conqueror of the Persian Empire, by whom Greek influences were to be diffused throughout the whole earth, should have been born at the very moment when the greatest of all Asiatic temples was burning to the ground.

As the way had been prepared for Socrates and the great intellectual revolution which followed him, so also the way had been prepared for Alexander and the great political revolution by which he was to be

followed. The course of providence in the one case is no more remarkable than in the other.

The preparation for the coming of Alexander was two-fold. In Greece the way had been made plain before him by the long continuance of internal dissensions and civil conflicts which had exhausted the energies of the country and rendered her a comparatively easy prey to the more sturdy and aggressive warriors of the north. When Philip of Macedon came to the throne his country was still one of the weakest of the states which bordered upon Greece, and the Greeks anticipated but little danger from their neighbor. But in the year B. C. 358, following that of the accession of Philip, the culminating point in Athenian prosperity was reached. Athens had succeeded in recovering certain provinces which had been wrested from her by the Theban Epaminondas, but the revolt of a considerable number of her more distant allies wrought great injury to her power, cost her the services of several of her best generals, exhausted her means and permanently diminished her resources. This war, by diverting her attention from her ambitious neighbor upon the north, permitted Philip to absorb certain other provinces almost without resistance. Finally when Thebes called Philip to her assistance, in order that she might wreak vengeance upon Athens, she purchased the destruction of her enemy at the cost of her own ruin, and of the subjugation of Greece in general. The subsequent career of Philip was exceeding rapid, and at last the victory of Chæroneia (B. C. 338) exalted him to supreme power. All the Greek states, with the exception of Sparta, acknowledged his

supremacy and were absorbed into the Macedonian monarchy. In the next year Philip was appointed generalissimo of all the forces of united Greece. The headship of the kingdom of Macedon was admitted and confirmed, and it became in consequence the leading military power in Europe. Thus was the way made ready for the coming of the great conqueror.

In like manner also the way was prepared for Alexander in Asia. The Persian empire, although it extended over an immense territory, was very loosely held together. It had never been unified. Its provinces were a mere aggregation of separate states with no strong feeling of nationality. Its integrity had been preserved for several generations by no other force than that of its own inertia. Its great size, its rich resources and its huge army had for a long time served to overawe its subject states, and convey to their citizens a false idea of its permanence and power. The Greeks, however, were not deceived by these things. For nearly one hundred years they had been conversant with the inherent weakness of the Persian power. The expedition of the "Ten Thousand" had fully confirmed their theories, and the Greeks had been taught that the very capital of the great empire might be easily reached by well-disciplined troops who would find no really formidable foes, however great their numbers, throughout its entire extent.

Meanwhile the student will observe the wonderful manner in which Greece had been preserved from invasion and foreign domination. She had successfully resisted repeated attempts of the "Great King" to bring her under his yoke, and notwithstanding her

many internal dissensions she had been ruled by no alien power previous to the time of Philip of Macedon. The Persian defeats, moreover, while promoting the self-confidence of the Greeks, on the one hand, ministered to the humiliation of the great empire, teaching her the unusual prowess and skill of her European enemies, and leading all her allies to stand in wholesome dread of them. Greek colonists, indeed, had long been the only warriors upon whom the Persian king could safely depend, and when they should turn against him, his final defeat was assured. The Europeans were thus apprised of the exact situation, and were already assured that in any fair contest with those whom they regarded as the barbarians of Asia, they would certainly prove invincible. At such conclusions the Greeks had arrived even before the coming of Philip Philip himself had adopted them, and they were passed over in turn to Alexander, by whom they were to be carried to actual fulfillment.[1]

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

Such was the condition of Greece and Persia when in the year 336 Philip was assassinated and Alexander ascended the throne. He passed at once into the possession of his father's accumulated resources. The chief of these, and the one upon which Alexander's success the most largely depended, was the magnificent military establishment of Macedon, the finest in personnel and equipment which the world had ever seen. The Macedonian army was not large. Indeed, in comparison with the almost countless hosts of the

(1) See Grote's *History of Greece;* xcii.

Persian king, it seems quite insignificant, but its members were thoroughly disciplined and armed with special weapons which the father of Alexander had himself invented. The military system built up by Philip embodied the results of a series of improvements which had been made by various Grecian commanders during a number of generations. For half a century at least before the accession of Alexander the art of war had made conspicuous progress, chiefly in Macedon. Demosthenes, in an address to the Athenian people, twenty-five years before Alexander came to the throne, directed their attention to the fact that whereas in former times the armies of Greece had not been accustomed to invade each other's territory in the winter season, but only during four or five summer months, when their troops could be the more easily moved from place to place, Philip was in constant action both winter and summer, attacking all the enemies which were round about him with weapons and engines of various kinds, which, because they were of recent invention, his enemies were not prepared to encounter.[2]

The army with which Alexander invaded Asia amounted, according to Grote,[3] to about 34,500 men, of whom 4,500 were cavalry. The most important portion of this army belonged to the so-called Macedonian phalanx, and numbered about 24,000 men. The phalanx was the invention of Philip. The weapon with which they were armed first appears in his army. It is called the *sarissa* or Macedonian pike. It was used both by the infantry and cavalry, though in the

(2) Philippic III. (3) Chap. xcii.

case of the former it was much longer and heavier than in that of the latter. The pike carried by the infantry was not less than 21 feet long. It was so heavy and unwieldy that it could not be handled by any soldier except after a long period of special training in its use. Its extraordinary length and weight account for the special power and remarkable success of the Macedonian army. The phalanx was drawn up in successive files, 16 feet deep in all; there being an interval of three feet between each rank. When the pike was held in horizontal position, carried in both hands as no other such weapon had been carried before, it projected 15 feet before the body of the pikeman. It will thus be observed that the weapons of the second rank of soldiers projected 12 feet beyond the front rank and those of the third rank nine feet, while the pikes of five successive ranks of soldiers were presented to the opposing army at once. The ranks which followed behind the fifth served to sustain the soldiers in the front ranks. They carried their pikes in a slanting position so as to protect the men from any darts or arrows which might be discharged against them, and meanwhile the members of the rear ranks were ready to take the place of any who might fall in the ranks before them.

It will be readily perceived that a body of cavalry could make no headway whatsoever against such a forest of spears as would thus be presented to them; while a body of infantry would be as helpless as a company of modern soldiers, armed only with the old-fashioned musket, confronted by a force carrying the best of magazine rifles.

These soldiers were also armed with a short sword and a circular shield about two feet in diameter, and were well protected by suitable armor. They were thus not obliged to depend entirely on their pikes, and in close hand to hand conflict they might be abandoned. The phalanx thus constituted proved invincible. It was never overcome by any enemy until the times of the Romans, whose superior military tactics and rapid movement prevailed against soldiers armed with too heavy a weapon to encounter them.

THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER.

Furnished with this splendid military establishment Alexander laid his plans of conquest. He inherited his father's purpose of invading Asia and humiliating the Persian king. His dominating idea was revenge for the invasion of Greece by Xerxes and the liberation of the Asiatic Greeks long held in bondage by the barbarian tyrant.

With this determination the invasion of Asia was undertaken. The campaigns of Alexander in Greece previous to his departure had so far instructed its states concerning his power and spirit that they were not likely to rise in revolt, and while they were not in sympathy with the man and would not have regretted the miscarriage of his personal plans of conquest, they were deeply interested in the object of his invasion, and desired as truly as he the liberation of the members of their own race who had settled in Asia Minor.

In the spring of B. C. 334 Alexander crossed the Hellespont. His succeeding course was that of a whirlwind. The entire period of his reign was only twelve

years; but although his career was so rapid and his conquests so extended, he executed his designs with rare foresight and displayed the master hand of the statesman, as well as the controlling force of the conqueror.

The passage of the straits was not disputed by the Persians. Although the Persian fleet was not far distant and might at least have rendered the undertaking exceedingly doubtful, Darius seems to have been under the control of some unpropitious genius, for he not only displayed strange indifference to the nature of the situation, but even rejected the advice of those who distinctly apprehended it. The plans of his great general, Memnon, a Rhodian Greek, were disregarded, and Alexander was permitted to establish himself on Asiatic soil without resistance. Providence unquestionably was in the lead, preparing the way to victory in order to the accomplishment of the great redemptive plan.

The first engagement upon the river Granicus, in Phrygia, resulted in an overwhelming Macedonian victory. The slaughter of the Persians was great, while Alexander's losses were extremely slight.

A second battle at Issus in Cilicia resulted in a second victory. Alexander now refused to follow the Persian king for reasons which seemed unintelligible even to his own soldiers, but which nevertheless displayed a wise and far-seeing policy. He preferred to let his enemy escape and reorganize his forces while he himself utilized his victory in another way. His design was to obtain command of the sea before proceeding to further conflicts upon land. This would render him

absolutely secure at home, and permit him to be undisturbed by any troubles in the rear while pursuing his Asiatic campaigns. He therefore turned aside and proceeded along the coast of the Mediterranean, reducing the states that opposed him. After long sieges, even the strongholds of Tyre and Gaza were obliged to submit, and Alexander passed on into Egypt. Returning thence and retracing his steps he marched through Palestine and Syria by way of Damascus, crossed the Euphrates and fought the decisive battle of Arbela. This gave him control of the entire Persian empire. He immediately took possession of Babylon, and soon after Persepolis and Pasargadæ fell into his hands. He thence pursued the Persian king into Parthia, where the fugitive was murdered in order that he might not fall into the hands of his conqueror. Thence Alexander marched east and south through Persia, Sogdiana and Bactriana until the Macedonian troops, refusing to go further, he turned back and moved down the Indus to the Sea. Thence he returned through Susa to Babylon, where he died 323 B. C.

INFLUENCE OF ALEXANDER.

Historians have ever remarked that the larger influence of Greece upon the world begins with the destruction of Greek independence. As Dean Stanley remarks, "Grecian history died with Alexander, but Grecian influence was created by him."(4) Hellas ceased, but hellenism began its great career.

Alexander himself claimed to be a true Greek, and

(4) *History of the Jewish Church;* III: 261.

in the most important aspects of his character he certainly was one. His Greek spirit dates back to his early education. His ancestors were emigrants from Argos, and this fact alone was calculated to inspire in the mind of the growing boy an affection for all that belonged to the classic country. In early childhood he was taught to read the Iliad of Homer, and throughout most of his life he retained a strong interest in the poem. It is said that he carried with him a copy corrected by Aristotle through his Asiatic campaigns. While he was in upper Asia he directed one of his governors to send some books to him, and received in answer various tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, together with the works of other Greek poets.[5] This love for the Greek classics was due to his early training. Even as a child he was taught to identify himself with Achilles, from whom the legend of his mother's house declared that he was descended. His tutor, Lysimachus, was accustomed to call him Achilles, and his father Peleus, so that even in boyhood his mind was saturated with the old Greek traditions and the spirit of its early military exploits.

At the age of thirteen Alexander was placed under the instruction of Aristotle whom Philip invited to his capital for this express purpose.[6] The father of Aristotle before him had been the friend and physician of the father of Philip. For three years Alexander sat at the feet of the great Athenian philosopher. He became devotedly attached to him, and was a willing pupil. His teacher had examined the political constitutions of many states, and brought together a vast

(5) Grote, xciv. (6) Grote, xci.

mass of facts and observations in physical science. The young Macedonian prince was thus awakened to the knowledge of the wonderful world which lay before him, and to the superiority of the Greek civilization. Thus, while he was not himself a native Greek, his spirit was hellenic to the full, and his intelligence and combining genius were Greek. His disposition indeed, and the methods whereby he executed his purposes, were oriental; violent, impulsive and exacting to a degree which the Greek race had never known. The Greeks themselves did not regard him with personal favor, and manifested no public interest in his victories. Nevertheless, he shared their sentiments, adopted their principles and became their most distinguished representative.[7]

Before disembarking for Asia he separated from his army at Sestos and proceeded down the Chersonese peninsula to its southern extremity, at Elæus. This was for the purpose of visiting the shrine of the hero Protesalaus, the first Greek who touched the shore of Troy to undertake the siege of the city, and who was afterwards slain by Hector.[8] Alexander offered sacrifice to the shade of the hero and prayed the gods that his own disembarkation might terminate more auspiciously. Thence crossing the strait he steered his trireme with his own hand to the landing place near Ilium (Troy). In the middle of the channel he sacrificed a bull, and poured out libations from a golden goblet to Neptune. Dressed in complete armor he was

(7) The well known story of Alexander and Diogenes may also be recalled in this connection.

(8) See Wordsworth's *Laodameia.*

himself the first, like Protesalaus, to set foot upon the shore of Asia. Proceeding from the beach to the hill upon which Ilium was placed he sacrificed to its patron goddess Athene. He deposited in her temple a portion of his own armor, and took in exchange some of the arms said to have been worn by the heroes in the Trojan war, and these he carried with him during his subsequent campaigns. He placed a decorative garland on the column of Achilles, whom, as we have seen, he claimed as his ancestor, and declared that he envied the lot of the great hero who had been blessed during his life with a faithful friend and after his death with a great poet to celebrate his exploits. Finally he erected permanent altars to Zeus, Athene and Hercules, both on the point of Europe where his army had embarked, and on that of Asia where it had landed. This will be sufficient to indicate to the student the Greek spirit of the man who now enters upon the most important expedition which Europeans had ever undertaken in Asia, and the one most fruitful in results.

When now we review these labored efforts of the great Macedonian to proclaim his Grecian devotion and to impress his own command with the sincerity of his Greek intentions, we cannot repress our imagination as it runs forward nearly four hundred years, through many providential scenes and circumstances, and returning to the same spot attaches itself to the incoming of that refluent tide in which, after so many generations, appeared the great providential interpretation of the mission of Alexander. We remember how Paul the Apostle was driven of the Spirit to the West until he too came to the Hellespont, at the very point where

Alexander crossed its waters.[9] We remember that he there beheld in vision, not a Greek, but a "man of Macedonia," who cried to him for deliverance, as the colonists of Asia Minor had formerly cried across the straits to those upon the further shore. We remember that in answer to the cry he embarked, to wage a better warfare, to win more glorious victories, and to add new territory to the dominion of the King of kings. Thus, as Alexander moved east for the hellenizing of Asia, Paul moved west for the Christianizing of Europe; and when the lines crossed at Troas providence was at last made plain as though the very finger of God had been visibly laid upon the spot.

In his progress through Asia Minor Alexander was met by the citizens of the old Greek colonies, who hailed his approach as that of a deliverer, and true to his spirit and guiding purpose he restored to them their liberties. Similar results followed his invasion of Egypt. Here he founded the city of Alexandria, the most memorable act in its consequences in his whole life. His influence upon the Greek colonies of Africa was similar to that which appeared in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. It resulted in the re-awakening of their old national spirit. Thence proceeding to the east the great conqueror extended the influence of Greek civilization throughout the entire region which he subdued. On his march through Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia he left behind him as the monuments of his personal influence, according to Plutarch, a cordon of seventy cities which he had either founded or in part colonized.[10] Some of them were doubtless mere mil-

(9) Acts xvi: 6-9. (10) See *Ency. Britt.*, Art. "Macedonian Empire."

itary posts, yet they served for centuries as centers of Greek learning.[11] He determined in so far as possible to supplant the races which he subjugated with a race which should be Greek, or at least whose controlling spirit should be Greek. He prevailed on eighty of his Macedonian officers to take Persian wives, and obliged ten thousand Macedonian soldiers to follow their example. Thus even in his life time the east began to be hellenized.

SUCCEEDING EFFECTS.

The more important results of his invasion, however, appeared after his death, and although he was not personally responsible for them, he must certainly be regarded as their chief instrumental cause. The opening of the eastern world afforded an outlet for the swarming population of Greece and her contiguous colonies. A vast influx of emigrants followed in the wake of the conqueror. They pressed closely upon his heels, and it was two hundred years before their numbers materially declined.[12]

The Greek civilization thus introduced into Asia was not to be withdrawn. When Alexander crossed the Hellespont it meant that the nations of the world were to become a Greek-speaking people, and two hundred years should be given them in which to learn the language and become familiar with its use before the message of salvation was promulgated. These nations were also to become infected with Greek ideas —to be, in a word, hellenized. We can therefore

(11) Grote; xciv.

(12) *History of the Romans under the Empire;* Merivale; xxix ch.

scarcely estimate the vast results of the conquests of Alexander. The east and west, heretofore so widely separated, were brought together, and that in something far better and stronger than an empire of force. The tribes of three continents were first embraced under one government in order to be afterwards unified in one civilization. The very Euphrates became a Greek river, and in the hitherto disordered but now regulated meshes of Greek civilization the whole world was enclosed as fish in a great net.

It seems to the student of history as though all Asia and the larger part of northern Africa gladly adopted the Greek civilization, and as though one state vied with another in the adoption of Greek institutions. The influence was felt even in distant Bactria and Parthia. The Greek language took root among the barbarous tribes on the confines of civilization and transformed them. Its subtle influence was exerted over the rude nations which migrated to the regions under its magic spell. Even the fierce Gauls who had settled in Asia Minor succumbed to its power, and were subdued and softened. Galatia adopted the customs of the conqueror, and we should scarcely recognize in the kindly people of Paul's epistle, who would have plucked out their own eyes for his sake,[13] the kindred of those intrepid barbarians whom Cæsar encountered in his memorable campaigns in European Gaul.

But still more; the coming of the Greek in power exerted a mighty influence in overturning the superstitious systems of the age. The Greek was a freeman, and his

(13) Galatians iv: 15.

freedom was characterized by an intellectual breadth of which the East had never dreamed. He had no systems of caste, no close priesthood, no sacred books, nor other such institutions as had long enslaved the minds of his eastern subjects. His coming, therefore, infused that self-respect and awakened those aspirations without which there never can be any progress. The human intellect under his leadership became everywhere a thing of life, capable of growth and development. *He taught the world to think.*

But the conquests of Alexander were not without their influence upon the Greeks themselves. Hitherto it must be remembered that while Greece had produced many distinguished warriors she had produced no great conqueror. The Greeks had been colonists from the beginning, but wherever they had gone they had for the most part asked the right to exist, and were therefore dependent upon the forbearance of their neighbors. They had not been accustomed to mingle freely with the men of other races, and in consequence despised them, as the weak but wise always despise the strong but ignorant. Until the time of Alexander the distinction between Greek and barbarian was sacredly observed even by the best of men. Socrates himself thanked God daily that he was a man, not a brute; male, not female; Greek, not barbarian. But the extension of Greek influence following the conquests of Alexander, simply because it took on a new form wherein the Greek was both wise and strong, broke down many "a wall of partition." Old distinctions began to disappear, and the Greek himself became a cosmopolite. Greek scholars began to think

it worth their while to travel through other nations for the study of their institutions, and thus the history of the South and East—Egypt, Phœnicia, and Babylon—was written by Greek authors for Greek readers, and the character of the people and their institutions were made known at the centers of civilization. The results were most beneficent. Reciprocal sentiments of respect were gradually promoted and the way prepared for the introduction of a gospel which revealed a common master before whom all men were brethren.

DIVISION OF HIS EMPIRE.—RESULTS.

The prophet Daniel, as we shall observe more particularly in the next chapter, had foreseen the division of Alexander's empire in the vision which was afforded him in Babylon.[14] The third beast which he saw coming out of the sea had four wings upon its back and was provided with four heads. A glance at any historical atlas is sufficient to exhibit the remarkable fulfillment of this vision in history. Here is Labberton, for example, in whose map we at once perceive the four great portions to have been Macedonia, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt; and although there were at the first three other minor states, they were so insignificant that Labberton does not give to any of them a distinctive color. They had no power; they exercised no political influence. The divisions of Alexander's kingdom were substantially four in number.

The providential reason for the dismemberment of Alexander's empire is sufficiently clear. The time had not yet arrived for the unification of the world, which

[14] Daniel, ch. vii.

must be accomplished before the coming of the Redeemer. Another work had yet to be performed, the work which Alexander had begun, but which was as yet unfinished. That work could be better promoted in the mutual and wholesome emulation of rival states than under a single central government in which those states were united. Had there been but a single great empire, there would have been but a single center of predominating influence. However large the population of other cities might have become, the capital city would have been the one whose life and thought gave character to the whole. But in the divisions of the empire several great centers existed, each one of them a magnificent city, built by imperial power and furnished with imperial magnificence; each a Greek city, the center of hellenizing influences. Thus from these separate independent centers the work which was connected with the divine purpose was carried on.

Thus the hand of providence plainly appears in the fact that Alexander was not permitted to carry his conquests to the great extent which he himself had anticipated. The personal influence of Alexander would not have resulted in benefit to the world, but rather the reverse. At the time of his death he was little more than 32 years of age. His extraordinary physical vigor seems to have been unabated. His campaigns had brought him increasing experience, his appetite for conquest was as great as when he first crossed the Hellespont, and he stood ready to purchase power at as great an expense as ever. Still in his youth, and with such increased means and experience, his ambition would have been satisfied with nothing short

of dominion throughout the entire habitable world, and we cannot see any reason why he should not have accomplished it. There was nowhere any power capable of resisting him. His soldiers were personally so attached to him that they were ready to go anywhere, endure any danger, suffer any hardship, if he did but lead them. But had he carried out his plans, and achieved the universal dominion which he desired his empire, immense and heterogeneous, could not have been administered with any advantage to its subjects. The mere task of acquiring and maintaining such possessions would certainly have occupied his entire thought and left no leisure for the arts of peace and the improvement of his subjects.

It is also apparent that while Alexander still maintained his devotion to the Greek traditions, his manners and tastes became more and more Asiatic as his conquests multiplied. He seemed bent upon adopting the politics of the Persian empire and parcelling out its territory among the Macedonians whom he had led to conquest, as so many Persian satraps. Had he succeeded his empire would have been composed of an aggregation of inharmonious dependencies, like those he had subdued, in which the passions of the Asiatic would certainly have prevailed over the intellect of the Greek. Instead of hellenizing Asia, Europe herself would have been Asiatized. As it was, the dismemberment of his empire assured a certain amount of Greek homogeneity throughout the conquered provinces, and invited the coming of those Greek colonists, who we have seen followed upon the way which he had opened for them into Asia Minor and the east.

We shall now direct our particular attention to various portions of Alexander's empire in which Greek influences became predominant and were most conspicuous in preparing the way of the Redeemer.

THE DIADOCHI.

The process of hellenizing Asia, which began with Alexander, was more particularly the work of the so-called Diadochi, his royal successors. Conquest had indeed prepared the way for them and established that military ascendency which rendered their work practicable; but the aspirations of these Diadochi, more particularly the Greek kings of Syria and of Egypt, were materially different from those of Alexander. They had not the same insatiable ambition. They gloried not so much in the arts of war. They were more closely associated with the European Greeks, and they were each obliged, because of mutual rivalries, to strengthen themselves in their own possessions. They were themselves more intensely Greek than the Macedonian conqueror. It became therefore a matter of pride with them to multiply their Greek colonial centers, and even to found new Greek cities, many of which were called by their own names. The regions which they governed became in this way the better known to the Greeks at home, and tempted Grecian immigrants. So that a very considerable influx of hellenic blood was poured into Asia and Africa during the century succeeding Alexander. The number of Greeks in these countries multiplied rapidly. Greek civilization was planted from the shores of the Ægean to the banks of the Indus, and from the Caspian to the

River of Egypt, to exist for nearly a thousand years and in its effects to endure forever. In addition to the cities which had been founded by Alexander himself others were founded or planted with Greek influences until the number of important Greek cities in Asia rose to more than two hundred. Greek art was transplanted from Athens, and although it acquired a somewhat florid tinge yet it was not entirely unworthy of its descent from the schools of Phidias and Lysippus. Attic plays were acted in all the chief cities. Architecture assumed a Greek form, though it lost to some extent its native dignity. Greek schools were opened in all the important centers, including as we particularly observe, the city of Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, and fresh hellenic blood continued to pour into the many forms of life throughout all the lands between the Tigris and the Mediterranean Sea.

The Greek spirit thus appeared as forceful as the Macedonian arms. The literature and art which grew up in separate and distant provinces, while it betrayed its native origin was yet largely and successfully imitative of the art and literature of Greece. The Dying Gladiator, for example, so well known to modern art students, was produced at Pergamon in Asia Minor.[14] It represents, not a gladiator, but a Gaulish chieftian, over whom Attalus, king of Pergamon, had been victorious. It was so well executed that Attalus sent it to Athens, where it was carefully preserved. In a later age, also, but still indicating the prevalence of Greek influences, we meet with such names as Galen

(14) See *Ency. Brittanica.*

of Pergamon, Strabo of Amasia, and Epictetus, the Phrygian slave.

These three men—the first a great physician, the second a great geographer, and the third a great philosopher, are but illustrations of the fact that the Greek culture of the East was so real and influential as to secure due recognition everywhere. There were great numbers of such thinkers and workers distributed through Asia and northern Africa. Nor were they lightly regarded by the Greeks of Greece, as provincials are too apt to be esteemed by citizens of the mother country; but, on the contrary, they were held to be as truly sons of the ancestral land as though they had been born on the plains of Attica or trained under the shadows of the Acropolis. Greece, in fact, in order to serve the purposes of the divine providence, was in process of dismemberment and the proceeds were distributed throughout the earth—Greece was everywhere.

ANTIOCH AND THE EAST.

In this extension of the Greek power throughout Asia, one city arose which was destined to exercise a greater influence upon the history of the world than any other Greek city in Asia—Antioch upon the Orontes. This city was built by Seleucus I., the founder of the Syrian monarchy. After the death of Alexander, Seleucus having passed through various vicissitudes which we cannot recount, gained possession of the government of Babylonia 312 B. C., and from this year the Syrian monarchy is reckoned. At the close of a successful war in which his rival Antigonus was killed, Seleucus obtained all the Asiatic territory which had

been conquered by the Greeks, with the exception of Lower Syria and Western Asia Minor. After the battle of Ipsus, which gave him possession of his territory, he determined to found a capital city in Northern Syria. There is something curiously prophetic in the stories which are told concerning the building of this city.[7] Seleucus is said to have watched the flight of birds from the summit of a neighboring mountain. An eagle took a fragment of the flesh of his sacrifice and carried it to a point on the seashore where he first built the city of Seleucia. Soon afterwards he repeated the ceremony and watched the auguries at the city of Antigonia which his vanquished rival Antigonus had begun and left unfinished. An eagle again decided that this was not to be his own capital, carrying the flesh to the hill on the south side of the river, and there Antioch was built. For this purpose the city of Antigonus was destroyed and its material used in the construction of the new city. The wisdom of the king in using this site for his capital is readily recognized. It placed him in communication both with the shores of Greece and with his eastern territories, and he gave himself with enthusiasm to the building and adorning of his capital. It grew with great rapidity, so that in the time of Augustus it embraced four cities in one, the walls being successively extended to enclose them.[8]

The influential character of the place was established from the first. Seleucus by his wise and liberal administration made it a most attractive metropolis, his wis-

(7) *Life and Epistles of St. Paul,* Conybeare and Howson, Vol. I, ch. IV.

(8) Ency. Britt., Art. "*Antioch.*"

dom, however, being of a worldly and even abandoned character. He laid out the grove of Daphne, distant four miles from the city, and erected in it a temple of Apollo and Diana, to which deities an annual festival was held, which was attended by all the people of the neighborhood, and many others. In the temple of Apollo was a colossal statue of the god, an impression of which appears on the coins of the later king, Antiochus Ephiphanes. The city itself abounded in fine buildings, was remarkable for its streets and porticoes which were styled "golden," with reference to the splendor of the columns, and perhaps even to the application of gold as their means of ornamentation. The roadways were paved with granite. A plentiful supply of water for private purposes was furnished from wells and fountains, and the public baths were supplied by aqueducts, the ruins of one of which is still standing.

After the conquest of Syria, Antioch became the residence of the Roman governors, and the importance of the city was increased by the presence of the officials who were connected with the details of provincial administration. Other luxurious Romans were also attracted to its beautiful climate. The commerce of the city greatly increased, its houses multiplied, and its gardens were extended on the north of the river. There are many allusions to Antioch in the history of those times as a place of singular pleasure and enjoyment. Pompey enlarged the temple of Daphne and conceded autonomy to the city. It was visited by Julius Cæsar in 47 B. C., who was regarded as its benefactor because he allowed the town to retain its freedom. He also added several public works of importance. The

emperor Augustus was particularly favorable towards the place because it had espoused his cause in his struggle for the imperial power. So that in the time of Christ this had grown to be the most influential place in all Asia in view of the privileges it enjoyed, the commerce it controlled, the pleasures it afforded and its peculiar relation to the Roman empire in the East. It was populated very much as Rome itself was, with a vast assemblage from all lands. In consequence also of the magnificence with which the worship of Apollo was here celebrated, and the crowd of licentious votaries which it attracted, there was no population more abandoned. Heathenism was here exhibited in its most resplendent and at the same time its most depraved form.[9]

It will thus appear that in the founding of this city of Antioch the providence of God had provided a place in which the best culture of the Greek might be readily attained by the representatives of his own revelation. Antioch was on the highway between the Jewish colonies in Asia Minor and their central sanctuary at Jerusalem; and we learn from the Acts of the Apostles that a large number of Greek Jews had their permanent dwellings there.[10] Seleucus himself, with a view of enlarging the population of his city at the time of its founding, had introduced into it a numerous colony of Jews, whom he had encouraged to remain contentedly by raising them to an equality of civil rights with the Greeks. One of his successors, Antiochus the Great, established two thousand Jewish families in the con-

(9) The reader will find a very accurate and interesting description of the city in all its varied life, in the fourth book of "*Ben Hur*."

(10) Acts xiii.

tiguous territory in Asia Minor. Thus Antioch became a Jewish center as well as a Greek one,[20] and it was thus providentially arranged that when the time came to promulgate the Gospel to the heathen world, Antioch should become the chief missionary center. The disciples were called "Christians" first in Antioch.

From this city Paul and Barnabas departed and to it they returned with their inspiring reports; and the city throve as a seat of Christian learning and zeal. In the time of Diocletian its church numbered 50,000 members—according to the lowest estimate.[21] We are thus permitted to trace the remarkable providential connection between the events which we have surveyed.

ALEXANDRIA AND THE SOUTH.

A similar providential connection is to be traced between the founding of the Greek capital of Egypt and the subsequent spread of the Gospel. We shall consider in the next chapter the particular influence of this event upon the Jew, observing in the present one its general hellenistic character.

In the little fishing-town of Rhacotis the great Macedonian, with his usual foresight, had foreseen the possibility of creating a magnificent harbor such as had hitherto been lacking along the entire eastern shore of the Mediterranean. The low, level reef forming the island of Pharos, when connected by the mainland, would furnish such a shelter for ships as neither Tyre nor Sidon had ever been able to afford. His own mili-

[20] Stanley, III: 317.

[21] *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism;* Ullhorn, p. 402.

tary cloak supplied the outline of the city. It was built in the form of an open fan, and contained more area than Rome herself. Strangely enough Alexander called to his aid in laying out this capital, Denocrates, the architect of the rebuilt temple of Diana at Ephesus, the fame of which had already spread abroad through the earth and assigned it a place among the "seven wonders." The execution of the plan was soon intrusted to this celebrated builder while Alexander made his pilgrimage to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, two hundred miles to the west.

On the return of the great conqueror he immediately set to work to people his metropolis. The seat of government was transferred thence from Memphis, colonists were invited from all quarters, among them, as we shall more particularly observe hereafter, a large number of Jews.

The fame of the city was materially increased by subsequent events. Hither were afterward conveyed the remains of the dead king from Chaldæa in a golden car drawn by sixty-four mules, each arrayed in golden hangings and golden bells, across the deserts, over the mountains and through the valleys of Palestine, until they were deposited in the tomb which gave to the whole quarter of Alexandria in which it stood the name of "The Body." This alone would have contributed to the importance of the place; but it was not dependent upon any such factitious assistance. Three worlds met in Alexandria—Europe, Asia, Africa, and by virtue of its location it soon drew to itself a commerce exceeding that of any city in the world and thus secured and held the second place even in the

great Empire of Rome.

The glory of the city increased as that of Athens declined. The various states of Greece, tossed from the hands of one tyrant to another under the successors of Alexander, attempted to regain their independence, but were unable to do so because they could not agree in the defense of their common cause. Divided among themselves, turning for assistance from one ally to another, they prepared the way for the utter destruction of the freedom of Greece, which Rome, ere long, was to accomplish. A great number of Greeks were thus induced to forsake their own country and seek an asylum elsewhere, and Alexandria became a second Athens and the true center of Greek civilization.

Thus the foundation of Alexandria secured the predominance of Greek influence throughout Egypt, and modified the character of the Egyptians themselves. This people who had been almost as seclusive as the Jews, now adopted commercial pursuits by which they were brought into intercourse with other nations. This in turn led to the breaking up of their rigid habits. They still continued separate from their conquerors in language and religion, but in other respects they bore with equanimity the yoke of the invaders. The prosperity of Egypt during the entire period of the Ptolemaic dominion is due largely to the wisdom and skill of Ptolemy I. Lagus (Soter), to whom this province was assigned in the division of Alexander's dominions.[22] He immediately relinquished the schemes of territorial aggrandizement to which he was committed during Alexander's life-time, and devoted himself to

(22) A fine general survey in Rawlinson's *Ancient History.*

the improvement of his own territory. He determined upon the one hand to render it secure against invasion and conquest, and upon the other hand to develop all of its resources and improve the character of its civilization. In all this he succeeded, and the later glory of Egypt was the outcome. The tranquility of the country was maintained by a standing army composed almost exclusively of Greeks and Macedonians, but the army was confined to a few locations, so that its overbearing presence was not felt by the larger part of the population.

The chief peculiarity, however, of the Ptolemaic government as exhibited both by its founder and by a number of his successors, was its encouragement of literature and science. The founder of the line was himself an author, and cherished a profound regard for men of learning. Recalling the researches of Aristotle and their influence upon Alexander, his former sovereign, he himself determined to be another and greater Alexander, at least in this—that abandoning his military ambitions he would devote himself to his intellec tual ones. He therefore proceeded to collect an immense library and provide for its suitable care. A building was erected next his own palace and men of learning were invited to make use of it. A "museum" was also founded and a large corps of instructors engaged by which means students were attracted from all parts of the world. The list of distinguished names which thus adorn the dynasty of the Ptolemies is a long one, including Euclid the mathematician, Apelles the painter, Hipparchus the astronomer, Manetho the historian and others well known to history.

So, wonderfully did Almighty God prepare the way, as we shall particularly observe in our next chapter, for the study of his truth and its presentation to the Gentile world.

The literary tastes of Ptolemy Lagus were inherited by his son Ptolemy Philadelphus and his grandson Ptolemy Euergetes, both of whom continued to patronize men of letters, extend the influence of Greek civilization and enhance the glory of their hellenic kingdom. And although their successors were incapable and wicked, yet the influences which they had set in motion were not arrested, but continued in full force until the Redeemer came and the empire of the Ptolemies succumbed to the all-conquering arms of Rome, its great mission having been accomplished.

ROME AND THE WEST.

The spread of Greek institutions throughout the West is also connected with the career of Alexander.

We have already observed that Greek colonies were established in western Europe as far back as 734 B. C. These colonies persistently cherished their Greek traditions and customs. With the hellenizing of the East, there was a revival of the Greek spirit throughout the West also. The western Greeks became greatly interested in the movements of their eastern brethren, and many of them joined the swarms of emigrants who poured into Asia. Thus a close connection and a warm fellowship was maintained between all the portions of the great Greek world and Rome herself was deeply affected by the Greek spirit. All those who boasted a Greek lineage were the more zealous in its

perpetuation. Greek influence was not therefore destroyed in the overthrow of Greek liberty and by the calamities which followed. On the contrary the customs of Greece were diffused even the more widely, and we are reminded of what occurred before and after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. The Greek language which had been already very generally diffused throughout Italy became popular in all circles.[23] A knowledge of that language, which was the general medium of intercourse for all ancient civilization, had long been a common accomplishment; but now in the extension of Roman power such knowledge became necessary as well to the merchant as to the statesman. All classes, therefore, gave themselves to its acquisition. Meanwhile even the lower classes of the population, especially in the capital, learned to speak Greek through their intercourse with the slaves and freedmen who had been brought into Italy. In this way the whole Roman household was affected by Greek influences. The conservative Roman spirit which at first resisted the introduction of Greek learning was unable to subdue it. Cæsar's grandfather inveighed against the study of the Greek language, but Cæsar himself resorted to Athens for instruction. Cato was in favor of driving Greek philosophers out of Rome, but in the generation which succeeded, the very children learned to speak the language of their servants and to ape their actions. It was in vain to stem the tide of innovation. The young men who desired cultivation could not be prevented from acquiring the tongue of Plato and Sophocles. They studied under Greek

(23) *History of Rome*; Mommsen, II, ch. xix.

rhetoricians and philosophers. Even in the theatres the very comedies could not be understood without a knowledge of Greek—the language had been so much modified by the introduction of Greek words. Greek became the language both of commerce and of polite intercourse, as well as of diplomacy. "Greek," says Cæsar, "is read in almost all nations." The Greek schoolmaster went wherever the centurion led the way—no less a conqueror in his own way than he; and the teachers of the Greek language settled not only in Italy, but were found even in the distant cities of Spain.[24] Inasmuch as the Romans placed the work of elementary instruction, like every other work which was performed for hire, in the hands of slaves, freedmen or foreigners, the great bulk of the Roman population was committed to the hands of the Greeks, and in this way the western world was hellenized.

We shall deal more particularly with Greek influence in Italy in a succeeding chapter.

HELLENISM AND THE JEW.

It is apparent that if there was any providential meaning in the hellenizing of the nations the people of God themselves must to a considerable extent be brought under Greek influences. The Jew was indeed no exception in the hellenizing of the nations. Indeed the most striking effects of hellenism in the age preceding the coming of Christ appear in that people whose system was the most venerable and whose prejudices were the most impregnable. These effects are also connected with the division of the empire of

[24] *Beginnings of Christianity;* Fisher, p. 57.

Alexander and serve to set forth the singular providence of God as it was manifested therein. As the Syrian metropolis of Antioch, founded by one of the successors of Alexander, is seen to have exercised a vast influence upon the course of Christianity, so also the new Egyptian metropolis of Alexandria, founded by Alexander himself, exercised a corresponding influence, but of a different kind. But it will be impossible to include the history of this influence in the present chapter; we pass therefore to the next, in which we shall treat of hellenism and the Jew in connection with the metropolis of Alexandria.

Chapter X.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE JEW.

We have already observed in a previous chapter that following the Babylonian captivity and under the favoring influences of the Persian empire the Jew had been in a measure revolutionized. His character was not, however, thereby altered except in its external aspect. The revolution had accomplished little else than to bring him into contact with the nations of the world. It broke up his habits of seclusion and rendered him content to live outside the narrow bounds of his own country. But he still continued to speak the same language, to adhere to the same exclusive regard for his own institutions, and to explain all things by the only philosophy with which he was acquainted—the tradition of his fathers. This was true of all the Jews; there was but one class of them. We find, however, when we open the New Testament that two distinct classes are recognized. The first is known by the ancient name, "Jews;" the second are called "Grecians."[1] We observe, also, that these Grecians comprise a large element, probably the majority, of the early Christian church. We discover, upon the first mention of them, that there is a certain amount of friction between them and their brethren who bear the ancient name. They are introduced to our atten-

[1] Hereafter this word will invariably be used to designate the Greek-speaking Jews.

tion in Acts vi: 1, where we are told that "there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration." They are mentioned again in chapter ix: 29, where we are told that Saul of Tarsus, when he returned from Damascus to Jerusalem, after his conversion "disputed against the Grecians; but they went about to slay him." In chapter xi: 20, we read that certain believers who had come to Antioch "spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus."[2] We should be disposed to conclude even from these simple statements, although we were ignorant of foregoing history, that some great providential movement had been in progress since the close of the Old Testament, in the course of which a people had been furnished out of the Jewish church itself, forming a connecting link between that church and the Gentile world. This conclusion would be a just one. It is a mistake to suppose—as the uninstructed reader of the New Testament is liable to do—that in the day wherein the hope of Israel was to be extended to all nations there was no mediator between the Jew and the Gentile. The very reverse was the case. The mediator had been provided, and his production is one of the most remarkable illustrations of divine providence, in its control of human history, which is anywhere afforded. The Gospel was not to depend for its agencies solely upon the Jew of Palestine, with his provincialism and prejudice. Under the omniscient leadership of God a fusion of races had been in progress, and there had

[2] The Revised Version says "Greeks," with "Grecians" in the margin.

been produced a new species, which intellectually realized what some ethnologists say is physically impossible, *a true hybrid*. That hybrid was the Grecian. He was a true Jew and a true Greek in the same person, but in him the stern and repulsive stiffness of Judaism had been softened by the elements of hellenic culture.[3] He adhered to the God of Israel and prayed toward the temple at Jerusalem; but he spake the language of Athens and lived in the atmosphere of the Acropolis. He was the ordained mediator of the new era. He was personified in Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles.

HISTORY OF THE GRECIAN.

The production of the Grecian is an integral part of the great intellectual revolution which we have considered. His history begins with Alexander; so that Alexander becomes the herald not only of a mighty change in the thought of the Pagan world, but also the forerunner of a mighty change in the Jewish mind itself.

Josephus tells us that after Alexander had passed through Asia Minor and subjugated Tyre he made haste to go up to Jerusalem; that the notice of his coming produced great confusion and fear in the Jewish capital, which was only allayed when Jaddua, the high-priest, announced that God had appeared to him in a dream, assuring him that the advent of the conqueror would not be attended by any ill. Josephus then continues:

"When the high-priest understood that Alexander was not far from the city he went out in procession with the priests and

(3) See Neander's *Church History;* Introduction.

a multitude of citizens. The procession was venerable; and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which place translated into Greek signifies a 'prospect' (Scopus), for thence you have a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple. And when the Phœnicians and the Chaldæans that followed him (Alexander) thought they should have liberty to plunder the city and torment the high-priest to death, the very reverse of it happened, for Alexander when he saw the multitude at a distance in white garments, while the priests stood near them in fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself and adored that name and first saluted the high-priest. The Jews also did altogether with one voice salute Alexander and encompass him about, whereupon the king of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him and asked him how it came to pass that when all others adored him, he should adore the high-priest of the Jews. To whom he replied, 'I did not adore him, but that God who hath honored him with his high-priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream in this very habit when I was at Dios in Macedonia; who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army and give me the dominion over the Persians.'" Josephus continues: "The next day Alexander called them to him and bade them ask what favors they pleased of him, whereupon the high-priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired and when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired."[4]

The kindness which the great conqueror showed to the Jews bore fruit in the honor which they paid to his memory. They soon began to name their children after him, employing his name as a substitute for the name of

[4] *Antiquities;* xi, 8.

their own great king, Solomon. A large number of Alexanders of Jewish fame are remembered in history—some even in the New Testament itself; but what is still more remarkable, the feminine of the name, Alexandra, which scarcely ever occurs in Greek nomenclature, was a common Jewish name, as it is a common Christian one.

From this point, therefore, dates the hellenizing of the Jews throughout the Macedonian empire and the kingdoms which succeeded it. It was in the nature of things impossible that the Jewish communities in the West should remain unaffected by Grecian culture and modes of thought; and all that seems to have been necessary in order to render the Jew accessible to Greek influences was a manifestation of friendship upon the part of the great Greek conqueror. Here then as Edersheim beautifully says:

"While we behold old Israel groping back into the darkness of the past, in the Judaism of the East; we behold young Israel, in the Judaism of the West, stretching forth its hands to where the dawn of a better day was about to break."(5)

These Jews of the West had no local history to look back upon nor did they form a compact body like their brethren of the East. To them Jerusalem was only a symbol not a home. They were craftsmen, traders, merchants—settled for a time here or there. They might combine for a while into communities, but they could not form one people. Greek influences also were in the air, and the Jew could no more shut his mind against them than he could withdraw his body from the influences of the climate in which his lot was cast.

(5) *Life of the Messiah;* Vol. I, p. 17.

Jewish communities were of course loyal to the customs of their fathers in all essential matters. The Grecian Jew looked with contempt and pity upon the idolatrous rites which were practiced about him, and upon the dissoluteness of public and private life; and yet when he stepped outside of the little company whom he met in his own synagogue, or withdrew himself from his own dwelling, he found himself confronted upon every side by Grecianism—in the forum, in the market-place, in the shop and upon the street; in all he saw, in all whom he met. He beheld its refinement, its elegance, the profundity of its thought, the attractiveness of its form. He might endeavor to resist it; but he could not overcome it. It thus became necessary for him to defend himself. But in the very process of self-defence he began to enquire whether the truths of divine revelation were all the truths that God had ever permitted mankind to learn; and whether there were not some things in the thought of those about him worth adopting—in form at least, if not in substance.

At first he was disposed to resist Greek influences to the uttermost. It was forbidden him to study Greek philosophy or even to speak the Greek language. A young man once asked his uncle, a learned rabbi, whether he might not study Greek, since he had already mastered the Law. The rabbi replied by a reference to Joshua i:8: "Go and search what is the hour which is neither of the day nor of the night, and in it thou mayst study Greek philosophy."

But the very question was prophetic of the rising tendencies, and the subtle proof of surrounding influences. As those influences encroached on the strong-

holds of Judaism they became the more resistless. The Greek met the Jew at his own threshold, even in Palestine itself. Grecianism invaded the holy places which patriarchs and prophets had sanctified by their presence. Cæsarea, Gaza, Askelon and Joppa first became Greek cities, and there were many such between Hermon and the Dead Sea.[6] In some of these the people were compelled to speak Greek by imperial ordinance,[7] and it began to displace the native language. The Romans published their decrees in Greek and Latin, never in Aramaic or Hebrew. It is a significant illustration of the state of the spoken language in the age of Christ, that the Apostle Paul succeeding in stilling the mob which threatened his life at Jerusalem by speaking to them "in the Hebrew tongue," showing that he ordinarily spoke in another tongue.[8] The providence of God thus fairly forced upon the Jews the Greek language and some attention at least to Greek learning. They began to speak Greek; their children learned to read Greek authors, and their grandchildren — some of them, actually married Greeks, and the intellectual hybrid at last appeared. The chasm was bridged by a single cable, where soon should be suspended a solid highway.

In such a case as this it could not be but that the Grecian Jews should form, in some large city of the world, an important center, at which they should learn to apply their studies of Greek to the interpretation of the Scriptures, and from which the theories which

(6) See a complete list in Schurer's *Jewish People in the Time of Christ.* Div. II, Vol, I. See also Merivale, xxix.

(7) Mommsen's *Provinces;* Book VIII, ch. ii.

(8) Acts xxii: 2.

they had formed in consequence should radiate throughout the earth. What more natural thing than that this center should be found in the great city which their royal benefactor had himself founded, and to which was subsequently given his own name.

THE JEW OF ALEXANDRIA.

It is a matter of surprising interest that as Israel should have been led into Egypt preparatory to the giving of the law, so a large portion of Israel—exceeding in numbers the company that received the law, should have been led again into Egypt preparatory to the promulgation of the Gospel. Egypt has indeed been very closely associated with the redemptive purpose of God from the beginning. The people of Israel throughout their history had almost constant intercourse with the country, and even the infant Saviour sojourned there for a season.

The Jewish colonization of Egypt in the period of which we are now treating dates back to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

The prophet Jeremiah[9] informs us that after the conspiracy of Ishmael, "of the seed royal," and his murder of Gedaliah, who had been made governor of Jerusalem, he attempted to escape to Baalis, king of Ammon, with a number of captives, among whom were certain royal princesses—the "king's daughters." He was overtaken however by Johanan who recovered the captives, Ishmael escaping. In the panic which ensued, the small remant of Jews who still remained at Jerusalem, including Jeremiah, Baruch and the "king's

[9] Chapters xlii, xliii.

daughters," were carried by Johanan into Egypt and settled at Tahpanhes, an important town in the north-eastern portion of the Delta. The evidence of their residence in this section still remains in the Arab name of a group of ruins at Defenneh, the site of Tahpanhes, known as Kusr el Bint el Yehudi, "the Palace of the Jew's Daughter."[10] From this time the number of Jewish settlers constantly increased. Companies of colonists are said to have been forcibly transported thither by the Persian kings. The greater accession however was made in the days of Alexander, and subsequently under the friendly reign of his successors, the Ptolemies, to whose kingdom Judæa was generally tributary.

In founding the city of Alexandria the great chieftain offered special inducements to his Jewish subjects to become its residents. He put them upon terms of equality with his own Macedonians, accorded to them the rights of citizenship and insured to them the utmost religious toleration. A large number were thus attracted to the place.

Under the oppression of the Syrian kings many more took refuge in Egypt and found an asylum there. The Ptolemies with one exception were friendly to them, and even became their patrons. A special quarter of Alexandria was assigned to them, and under these favoring influences the Jewish population continued to increase until in the days of the Redeemer its number reached a full million.[11]

Thus Egypt became almost another Judæa, and

(10) *The Bible and Modern Discoveries;* Harper, p. 475.

(11) Mommsen's *Provinces;* Book VIII: ch. xii.

Alexandria another Jerusalem; except that their Jewish citizens were gradually molded into another stamp and greatly modified in character and sympathies by the strange influences which beset them on every hand. This modification presently betrayed itself in the most striking manner. One of the first articles of Jewish faith had long been this, that there could be but one temple and one altar of sacrifice—those of Jerusalem, the place which the Lord God had chosen "to cause his name to dwell there." But the Jews of Egypt soon found an excuse to amend this article. The excuse was partly religious, partly political. A member of the high-priestly family named Onias, failing of the succession at Jerusalem, fled to Egypt, and by reason of his high ecclesiastical rank secured the confidence of the king, Ptolemy Philometor, B. C. 149. He represented to the king that it would be well to take steps to prevent the frequent pilgrimages of his Jewish subjects to Jerusalem, at that time held by the king of Syria, by providing for their religious needs at home. His arguments seem to have been much like those of Jeroboam when he set up the rival shrines at Bethel and at Dan."[12] The king fell in with the scheme of Onias, presented him with an abandoned temple near Heliopolis, assisted him in its renovation and confirmed him and his family in the high-priesthood.

At first it was not easy to reconcile the Jews to this radical departure from their ancient faith. Onias, however, was expert in argument. In his own justification he produced the prophecy from Isaiah.[13]

"In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the

[12] I Kings xii. [13] Isaiah xix: 18, 19.

language of Canaan and swear to the Lord of hosts. One shall be called the City of the Sun." (14)

This prophecy he declared to be fulfilled in Heliopolis, the City of the Sun; and by such arguments he prevailed. The Grecians rallied around him and a large colony was collected about the new sanctuary, to which the entire Jewish population of Egypt soon became devoted.

The temple was inclosed with high brick walls, and resembled a fortified camp. Onias and his sons endeavored to perpetuate the military traditions of the tribe of Levi, to which they belonged, and formed with their attendants a powerful band of soldiery, which more than once rendered the king of Egypt distinguished services.(15)

The erection of this temple of Heliopolis and the relations into which its military priesthood were brought to the Egyptian sovereign produced results of the most important character. A new center of Judaism was formed by means which threatened a breach with the Palestinian Jews, while it tended to closer fellowship with the Egyptian Greeks. The Jews of Egypt probably did not intend to present their temple as a rival to that of Jerusalem. On the contrary, they seem to have looked upon it as a legitimate daughter and themselves as dutiful children. They confessed the priority of Jerusalem and spoke of its house as the "Great Temple"(16)—their own being a lesser one. They never renounced their allegiance to Jerusalem nor despised

(14) Reading of the margin. See on this matter Prideaux's *Connections;* Vol. II, p. 175.

(15) Josephus, *Contra Apion,* ii. 5.

(15) See II Maccabees ii: 19: xiv: 13.

her authority. Nevertheless they became virtually a distinct and separate community, with their own council and priesthood. Few of them ever visited Jerusalem, many of them forgot the sound of their own language, and even those who retained a knowledge of Hebrew were, as a rule, not proficient in it.

In this connection it must be remembered, as we have already indicated, that the Jews of Egypt were by no means confined to Alexandria and Heliopolis. There were many important colonies of them throughout the land. After those which have been mentioned, that of Cyrene is perhaps the most interesting, the more particularly as its members had a synagogue in Jerusalem,[17] which was to assume special importance in connection with the crucifixion of Jesus[18] and the preaching of his apostles. But Cyrene was an old Greek colony, which had diligently cultivated the customs of its mother country and whose inhabitants had become in consequence both luxurious and refined; so that here too the Jews came under the most emphatic hellenistic influences. Thus throughout the entire country the transformation of the Jew was in process of accomplishment.

THE SEPTUAGINT.

The Jews of Egypt being by such influences drawn ever nearer to their Gentile brethren, there proceeded from their joint desires and efforts a most remarkable work, which was to find acceptance among Greek-speaking Jews everywhere and thus prepare in a singular manner the way of the coming Redeemer.

[17] Acts ii: 10 and vi: 9. [18] Matt. xxvii: 32, etc.

This was the Greek translation of the Old Testament, venerable not only as the oldest version of the Scriptures, but as that which, in the time of the Saviour, held the same place which the King James version holds in the English-speaking world. The details connected with the origin of this work are not certainly known. There is very much that is legendary connected with its story. It probably originated in the first place in the need of the Grecians, who were ignorant of the Hebrew language, of some version of the Scriptures which they could read and understand. There were probably in use certain early Greek versions of separate parts of the Pentateuch, but this was not sufficient for their needs. There may have been, besides, some curiosity on the part of students of other races dwelling in Alexandria to know the sacred books on which the history and religion of Israel were founded. We must also take into account the literary tastes of the first three Ptolemies, who were patrons of learning, and who founded the museum of Alexandria and its great library. It is not unlikely that these monarchs sought to enrich their treasures with an authentic rendering of the sacred books of the Jews, at least that they encouraged such a translation. The oldest part of the translation is the Pentateuch, whose origin is said to be found in the friendly interposition of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus. At his request the Jewish high-priest is said to have delegated seventy-two men, by whose labors the whole was finished in seventy-two days.[19] This is, however, a suspicious history, and we can say with certainty only that the translation was made and

(19) Schurer; Vol. III, 160.

in use by the year 220 B. C., as certain authors after that time make use of it. Translations of the other portions of the Old Testament soon followed until the whole book had been given to the Greek-speaking world. It soon became more popular and was more commonly found in Jewish use than the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. It was the "People's Bible" to that large Jewish world, through which Christianity was afterwards to reach mankind. The Grecians regarded it as inspired like the original, and were accustomed to make their final appeal to the very words of the Greek version. It seems to have been read in the synagogues—the worship probably being conducted wholly or in part in Greek.[20] It was authoritatively acknowledged even in Palestine itself, where, in connection with its use, it was permitted that prayers might be said in the Greek tongue. It finally became to the Jewish Church, even in Palestine, but especially in the Gentle world, what Luther's translation of the Bible became to the Evangelical Church of Germany, and produced a similar effect in enlightening and liberalizing the people. This then may be regarded as the formative point of Grecianism, the point at which the transformation of the Jew is distinctly accomplished.

The translation of the Sacred Scriptures into Greek and its acceptance by the Jewish Church, meant very much more to the world than might seem at first to have been portended. It was virtually the extension of the hope of Israel to the Gentiles with whom the Jews had come in contact. It was the expression of a desire that the benefits of the religion contained in

[20] Edersheim's "*Messiah*," Vol. I, p. 29.

their Scriptures might be communicated to the Greeks, into whose language those Scriptures were now cast; and it was the foreshadowing of a truth—not as yet distinctly promulgated, that in the presence of the God of those Scriptures there was neither Jew nor Greek. We can well understand the state of the case by a comparison with the condition of the Mohammedan world in our own day. The Musselman authorities have never tolerated any translation or version of the Koran. The faithful are obliged to read it in the original. Their exclusiveness is thus preserved; and whenever such a translation shall be made with the consent of those in power, or whenever such translations as have been made by others shall be accepted by them, the days of the reign of the false prophet will be numbered. It was just so when the Septuagint was made and accepted by the Jew. Judaism had well nigh fulfilled its mission, and the multitudes of proselytes who began to adopt, at least in a measure, the faith of Jehovah were the earnest of the extension of that faith to all mankind.

It must not be supposed, however, that these disintegrating influences were allowed to proceed unchallenged. The differences between the Palestinian Jews and the Jews of the dispersion have been already noted. With the rise of hellenism there arose also a reaction against it. The leaders of Jewish thought in the East set themselves against the tendencies of Jewish thought in the West, and both at Babylon and at Jerusalem—the two great centers of Eastern Judaism—the disposition was strongly manifested to make a still stronger "hedge about the law," and to preserve the distinctive

character and constituency of the Jewish church in its integrity. Thus, while from first to last there was no outbreaking hostility between the Jews and the Grecians, except in isolated cases; there was very considerable friction of the sort which has been indicated. The Jews became more and more suspicious of the Grecians; the Grecians became more and more dissatisfied with the narrow views and formal practices of the Jews, and a gulf of separation soon began to appear, which gulf was one of association and tendency, rather than one of difference in the fundamental faith—not unlike the frequent illustration of "*radical*" and "*conservative.*"

The Grecians, however, having begun their work with the preparation of the Septuagint, were not to be arrested in their liberal tendencies. The enjoyment of the benefits which accrued to them from their new version of the Scriptures only increased the desire to secure for themselves larger advantages in the same line by extending to the Gentiles a still wider knowledge of their history, customs and beliefs. The Grecian was thus committed to a work which the Jew had never attempted, and of which the Grecian had scarcely so much as dreamed. This work included a labor which had not been anticipated. The Greek could now read the Jewish Scriptures in his own tongue and for himself. They were open to his comments and his criticisms. The Grecian must be prepared to defend his religion from the attack of those who were inimical to it, and to answer their criticisms, even though he had no other object in view than the satisfaction of his own mind. A large mass of litera-

ture, therefore, immediately succeeded the Septuagint, the general character of which must be indicated, in order that we may apprehend the significance of the movement.

OTHER GRÆCO-JEWISH LITERATURE.

The Septuagint may be regarded as the first great step in the movement of the Jewish faith under the direction of divine providence toward the Gentile world. In taking this first step the Jew is definitely transformed. The second great step was taken in the literature which succeeded it. Its practical aim was to strengthen the Grecians themselves; to give to those who had not enjoyed the advantages of a residence in Palestine an acquaintance with their great past, and, in addition, to convince non-Jewish readers of the folly of heathenism and of the futility of attacks upon the faith of Israel.

This literature is best known through those examples of it which are preserved in the Old Testament Apochrypha; but there is a vast amount in addition. It comprised in general, historical, philosophical, apologetic and polemic writings. As the movement from the first had a Greek outlook, the way was soon prepared for an attempted reconciliation with the Greek philosophy — not with that later Greek philosophy which was represented in Epicureanism (which was too widely opposed to the teachings of the Old Testament for any Jew to so much as consider it), but rather with the charming speculations of Platonism and the lofty self-abnegation of Stoicism. The Grecians imagined that by the first they might give the

reason for their peculiar faith, and by the second the reason for their peculiar life. They sought to find in the philosophy of Plato some basis for their theology, and in the philosophy of the Stoics a foundation for its ethics. Assuming this position, they might pour contempt upon heathenism as such, while seeking a positive alliance with its best and purest thought. The result of this attempt was a curious eclecticism, in which Platonism, Stoicism and Judaism were both confused and combined. "Wisdom," of which we hear so much in this Græco-Jewish literature, and which is often presented in such a concrete form as to be exalted almost into a person, is sometimes described in the language of Stoicism, sometimes in that of Platonism—as "the birth of the power of God," or as "a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty."[21] The virtues of Judaism are likewise described in similar language, borrowed from Greek philosophy, as also the theories concerning the pre-existence of the soul. Such views, in their more profound aspects, were but the expression of the need of some revelation from on high which should be an advance even upon those of the most orthodox Jew himself.

Eastern Judaism could not persuade itself to look with favor upon such seeming compromises. At the best they were only tolerated. Some of these works were permitted to the Rabbis which were withdrawn from common use. While at first they were not regarded as heretical, and while some of the teachers of Israel made use of them and even quoted them in

[21] Edersheim's *Messiah;* I, 32.

their own writings, they were carefully distinguished from the canonical Scriptures and from the works of the fathers. After a time, however, the Jews of the East, perceiving the drift of the Græco-Jewish movement, forbade the use of the works which it had produced, and degraded them to the same level as the "outside books" which Jews were not allowed to read or even to consult. This tardy condemnation, however, was too late to be effective. The influence of the movement was already felt. The books were all the more eagerly read, not only because it was supposed that they glorified Judaism among the Gentiles, but because they were advertised as doubtful reading which might afford a knowledge of that forbidden Greek world into which even the unlettered Jews of Palestine were anxious to penetrate.

The leaders among the Grecians being thus made aware of their increased influence began the endeavor not only to combine their theological views with Greek philosophy but even to connect that philosophy with their very Scriptures. In order to do this it was necessary to find underneath the letter of Scripture some meaning which would accord with the teachings of the Greek philosophers. The method was at hand. The Greeks, in the studies of their own ancient writings, particularly the poems of Homer, had ingeniously formulated a theory, in accordance with which the letter contained an allegorical meaning, for whose sake it was written and which expressed its deepest truth.(22) Thus, in the Odyssey, the hero represents a man tossed upon the sea of life, driven hither and

(22) *Hibbert Lectures;* 1888, III.

thither by the storms of adverse fortune; the Lotophagi are the evil powers of appetite and passion by which some of his companions are destroyed, and the Sirens are the seductive pleasures against which one must fortify himself by filling his mind with divine thoughts, as Ulysses filled his ears with wax.

This method, once introduced, became most popular and persistent. All the great writers were regarded as writers of riddles—concealing a deeper meaning beneath the letter of their text. "The use of symbolical speech," said a grammarian of the Augustan age, "is characteristic of the wise man," and this theory was commonly accepted. A symbolical meaning was attached to names, places, numbers, and so on; and it became easy for those who adopted the theory to prove anything thereby, even their own peculiar philosophical tenets and their maxims of natural science. The process was, still further, pleasing to the imagination, and the results were satisfactory, inasmuch as they could neither be proved nor disproved.

This allegorical method was therefore accepted by the Grecians, and by means of it they seriously attempted to unfold the deeper meaning of their holy writings. They applied the allegorical interpretation to the whole history of Israel, beginning with the Fall. The brazen serpent, the manna, the garments of the high-priest, and many other things were obliged to yield a meaning, which had first been conveyed into them by their method and then deduced from them.

It is true, indeed, that the Eastern Jews had also applied an allegorical method to the interpretation of Scripture; but it was entirely different in principle from

that which was now undertaken by the Jews of the West. The method of the East did not seek to import any truths not otherwise discernible into the sacred text; but only to draw out of that text certain applications for the purposes of instruction and edification. The express teaching of the Rabbis of the East was that "Scripture does not go beyond its plain meaning." They always insisted that one should not search a law for its hidden reason or explanation; but that it was his duty simply to obey it. But the very thing which the Jews of the East discarded in their allegorical method, the Jews of the West formally and boldly adopted.

Having once entered upon this path there was no such thing as standing still. The work must continue until it had arrived at the dignity of a system, with its fixed principles and rules, by which the teachings of Greek philosophy and Jewish theology should be welded together by some unifying principle. The perfecting of this system was the work of a Grecian, who was born about 20 B. C., and who enjoys the reputation of being the greatest of all the uninspired men whom Judaism has produced. This sketch would be altogether imperfect, and the tendency of the Grecian movement scarcely apprehended, were not a few pages devoted to the consideration of his peculiar work.

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.

We know very little of the personal history of this remarkable man. He was descended from the house of Aaron; but his family seem to have entirely abandoned the priesthood. His father was a merchant belonging to one of the wealthiest and most influential

Jewish families in Egypt. His brother was the political head of the Jewish community in Alexandria. He was himself employed, at least on one occasion as a representative of that community, before the court of Rome.

HIS EDUCATION.

In the early education of Philo special attention had been given to Greek authors. He united Greek learning with Jewish enthusiasm. He possessed a very thorough knowledge of Greek literature, and betrays in his writings his familiarity with more than sixty Greek authors—quoting from such sources as Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Solon, Plato and Æschylus. His knowledge of Hebrew was only respectable in comparison with his knowledge of Greek. He had very little accurate information with regard to the teachings of the Eastern Jews. He was not even fluent in the Hebrew tongue, but read his Old Testament exclusively in the Greek translation. While, therefore, his heart leaned towards Jerusalem, his mind was bent towards Athens. While he remained a devoted Jew in his associations and his protestations, the Greek philosophy is more prominent in his writings than Jewish culture. His diction was formed after the Greek classics, and his phraseology shows his great indebtedness to Plato. In his eyes the great philosophers, beginning with Plato, were divine men and formed a sacred society. But he had been taught to regard these men as something better than pagans. They had been his teachers. He had learned to regard them with scarcely less veneration than Moses, David and Isaiah. The Greek philosophers in his eyes were "holy," though not so holy as

the teachers of Israel. To him Plato was great, though Moses was greater. The characteristic feature of his viewpoint is this, that his entire theory of the world may be stated without mentioning any notions that are distinctively Jewish. His Judaism virtually consisted in the formal claim that the Jewish people were in possession of the highest religious knowledge. Nevertheless over that Judaism Greek views had gained the upper hand. In essential points he agrees with them rather than with the Jewish traditions, and while his system on the whole may be called an eclectic one, Platonic, Stoic, and Pythagorean doctrines are the most prominent.

HIS PECULIAR WORK.

It was Philo's peculiar work, therefore, to weave the doctrines of the Greek philosophers and the Jewish prophets into a single web. This could only be done by a two-fold interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures, the literal and the allegorical. The letter must be sacredly retained; the history must be regarded as authentic; the personages as real. But Philo was not willing to become a slave to the letter, nor to regard its plain meaning as the more important truth. His system taught that the allegorical interpretation gave the true sense even while it might run counter to the letter itself. Thus, the personages were made to represent moral affections and states; historical events to represent the experiences of the soul; and even the literal sense was wholly set aside when it seemed to imply anything unworthy of God or contrary to the human reason. It is evident that such a

system as this might overcome all difficulties of every nature, and bring about a reconciliation which could not be affected upon any other plan.

But the system in the hands of Philo proceeded even to a more extravagant length. Interpretations were based even upon a play upon words, or upon the possible meaning of Hebrew words when translated into Greek; upon peculiar modes of expression; upon the positions of verses, paragraphs and even letters; upon the presence or absence of certain words, and—most remarkable of all—allegorical interpretations might be employed as the basis of other allegorical interpretations. His theology was Jewish in so far as it insisted upon monotheism and upon the worship of God apart from images; but it was opposed only to the polytheism of the popular heathen faith and not to the idea of the divine in Greek philosophy. A single illustration of his method may be given in his treatment of a text from Genesis xxviii: 11. "He took of the stones of that place and put them for his pillows." From this Philo teaches that the "student of virtue" should not seek a "delicate and luxurious life." "The men who spend their days in doing injuries to others and return to their homes at night to lie down in soft and costly beds are not the disciples of the sacred word." Jacob on the contrary is the example of such a disciple: "he is the archetype of a soul that disciplines itself." "But the passage has a further meaning, which is conveyed in symbol. The divine place and the holy ground is full of incorporeal Intelligences, who are immortal souls. It is one of these that Jacob takes and puts close to his mind, which is, as it were, the head of the combined

person, body and soul. He does so under the pretext of going to sleep, but in reality to find repose in the Intelligence which he has chosen, and to place all the burden of his life upon it."

It is evident that Philo follows here the Greek method. He says himself that it is the method of the Greek mysteries. He addresses his hearers by the name given to those who were being initiated. He exhorts them to be purified before they listen. Thus Philo appears as a Greek philosopher, while still adhering to his Jewish faith.[23] It is therefore apparent that in him and in those who became his disciples, Grecianism is found in a position considerably beyond the middle point between the Jewish and the Gentile world. The works of Philo are many and cannot here be treated in detail.[24] His doctrines may be thus briefly summarized.

1. *God and the World.* The fundamental thought from which Philo starts is that of the dualism of God and the world. God alone is good and perfect. He exists neither in space nor time. He has neither human qualities nor affections. He is, in fact, without any qualities, and without any name, and therefore, cannot be known by man. We can only say that he is, not what he is. But in connection with these negative definitions, in which almost everything seems to be denied of God, there are also found a series of positive assertions with regard to his nature which sometimes seemed to contradict the former ones. There is the

(23) *Hibbert Lectures;* 1888, III.

(24) A full description may be found in Schurer: *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ.*

Jewish idea of creation and providence, and the Stoic idea of God as immanent in the world—as that alone which is real in it and active in it; to use his own expression, "Himself one and the all." The explanation of this seeming contradiction consists in the effort to remove all limitation and all imperfection from God; and at the same time represent him as combining every perfection, and therefore filling and comprising everything. All perfection in the creature is derived solely from him. He is the light of the soul. His goodness is the crown of creation. The finite on the other hand is both imperfect and evil. There is nothing perfect and good except God himself.

2. *Intermediate Powers.* Because God is absolutely perfect he cannot enter into direct contact with matter—it would defile him. He therefore acts upon the world and in the world, according to Philo, through the intervention of certain powers which establish an intercourse between the two: "Potencies," "Words;" *potencies* when viewed from the Godward side, and *words* when viewed from the side of creation. These powers were the active causes which brought disordered matter into order. By means of them God acts. They are his ministers, and mediums between the infinite and the finite. They correspond to the angels of the Scripture and to the dæmons of Greek philosophy. It is not easy clearly to apprehend how they were regarded even by Philo himself. They are not emanations from God, but what Plato calls "archetypal ideas," on the model of which all created things were formed. They exist only in the divine thought, although they seem to have the attributes of personal beings. Strange

to say they are represented as being wholly in God and yet wholly out of God. There seems to have been a struggle upon the part of Philo to apprehend some distinction like unto that between the unapproachable God and God manifest in the flesh.[25]

3. "*The Word*" or "*Logos*." The Logos of Philo is the power or intelligence of God actively displayed. It is the idea which comprehends all other ideas, the power which comprises all other powers in itself, as the sum of all that is seen and all that is felt. Viewed in its bearings upon the teachings of the New Testament this part of Philo's system is much the most interesting of all; and yet it is just here that our difficulties are the greatest. The views expressed by Philo are hesitating and even contradictory. It is clear that he does not teach a concrete personality; and yet from another point of view the Logos is not strictly impersonal. Nor is it a property of the Deity himself, but the shadow, as it were, which the light of God casts. The Logos is necessary to his system because the Supreme God himself cannot enter into contact with the finite; and the Logos must stand between the two and be the medium of their mutual relation. As regards the world, the Logos is its real being. It is also the instrument through which it was created. The Logos announces and interprets to man the mind of God, acting as a sort of mediator. Philo designates it not only as the High Priest but as the "Paraclete." It is the sun which enlightens man, the medium of divine revelation to his soul. It is the manna which supports his spiritual life and brings righteousness and peace.

(25) *Greek Philosophy;* Zeller, § 94.

But the Logos of Philo is, nevertheless, shadowy and unreal. As High Priest he intercedes; but he offers no sacrifice, least of all the sacrifice of himself. It is the product rather of the Platonic philosophy with its doctrine of the "soul of the world," combined with the Stoic idea of the Deity as the "active reason" of the world. If the Stoic doctrine be stripped of its pantheistic element and the Logos be distinguished from the Deity himself, we have the Logos of Philo almost without further definition.

It should be noted at this point—though it be somewhat of a digression, that attempts have been made to trace the meaning of the term "Logos" as used in the opening chapter of St. John's gospel, to the works of Philo. The Apostle John indeed may have been acquainted with his writings and with the doctrines of his school, but there is a wide fundamental difference between his teachings and those of the Alexandrian philosopher.

St. Augustine contrasts the Logos of Platonism with the Logos of the Apostle John in his Confessions.[26] He says that he read in certain Platonic books—

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness apprehended it not. The soul of man bears testimony concerning the light, though it is not the light itself. But that the Word of God—God—is the true light, which lighteth every man coming into the world; that the world was made by him, and the world knew him not; that he came unto his own, and his own received him not; but that to as many

(26) Book VII; ch. ix.

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as received him gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name—there I read not. I read in these books also that God—the Word—was not born of flesh, nor of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God. But that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us I read not in them. I found in them, by diligent search, that the Son is in the form of the Father; that he did not consider it robbery to be equal with God, because he was his equal by nature; and I found this expressed in various ways. But that he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and that, being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; wherefore, God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father—these books do not contain. That he remains unchangeably thine only begotton and co-eternal Son before and above all times; that souls receive from his fullness that they may be happy—are contained in these books. But that in due time he died for the ungodly; and that thou didst not spare thine only Son, but didst deliver him up for us all—are not found in them."

This quotation is quite sufficient to show the difference between the New Testament Logos and that of Philo. The Apostle John derived his term not from Philo, but from the Old Testament and other Jewish writings. This we cannot attempt to show at length. It is, however, abundantly shown by the best scholarship.[27]

These are the most important doctrines embraced in the system of Philo. There are a few others which may be briefly dismissed.

4. *The creation of the world.* Notwithstanding the

[27] See *Christus Mediator;* Elliott, Part I, ch. i.

presence of the intermediate powers the universe cannot be traced back originally to God, because the evil and the imperfect do not have their cause in him. It originates from a second principle, which is without form and without life. It was from this second principle that God created it.

5. *The human soul.* Philo teaches that the entire atmosphere is filled with souls. Those who dwell in the higher parts become the media of God's intercourse with the world. Those who dwell in the lower parts are attracted by the things of sense and descend into mortal bodies. Consequently the soul of man is nothing else than one of these divine powers, an emanation from the Deity, which in its original state was an angel or a dæmon. The body being the animal part of man is the source of all evil; the prison to which the spirit is banished, the corpse which the soul drags about with it.

6. *Morals.* Philo substantially embraces the Stoic system of morals.[28] He adheres to its four cardinal virtues—temperance, prudence, justice and fortitude. Like the Stoics he teaches that there is only one good, morality; requires freedom from all passions and the greatest possible simplicity of life. He differs from the Stoics, however, in this; that while they referred man to his own strength Philo commended him to the help of God, who planted the virtues in his soul. True morality he teaches, as Plato did, is the imitation of the Deity. By falling away from God man was entangled in this life of sense; so he must struggle up out of it into the direct vision of God. He teaches

(28) See *Hibbert Lectures;* 1888, vi.

that this object is attainable even in this earthly life; virtuous man is lifted above and out of himself and may recognize the Deity. He who attains to this vision of the divine has reached the highest degree of happiness. There only remains to him complete deliverance from his body, that the soul may return to its original condition and rise to the higher sphere in which its life is like that of the angels again. He regarded the soul of a little child as naked, a sort of a "clean slate" upon which God might write what he would; but this state was brought to an end so soon as the soul inclined in the least degree towards evil. From that time onward the man's state became one of unrest, misery and unsatisfied longing. If he persisted in his sin it would terminate in complete spiritual insensibility. There was therefore presented to the mind the alternative either of resisting his passions, imitating God, and at death being conducted into his original state of purity and association with the divine; or of yielding to his passions and ending in a sort of annihilation, which he himself illustrates in the fate which overtook Lot's wife.

EFFECTS.

Such, then, was the condition of Grecianism in its final form. It is not necessary for us to point out, after this review, the wide divergence between its doctrines and those of the ancient Jewish Church. It must be apparent also that while there was much in it that was both false and foolish, it had been the means of accomplishing that which was absolutely necessary to the fulfillment of the promises relating to the call of the Gentiles. It manifested at least an honest attempt at

reconciliation. Herein the awful chasm between heathenism and Judaism was bridged from shore to shore. The Jew himself had gone out after his wandering brother, and while he had become, unfortunately, infected with many of that brother's vagaries, he had at least succeeded in overcoming their mutual antipathies. The Gentile world had been brought to the threshold of the church, and were prepared to enter it. It only needed the correction of the errors which were contained in the Alexandrian system, and the diverting of their thought from the false reconciliation of divine affairs which it had given, to the only true explanation which was to be found in Christianity, in order to effect the redemption of the mind from error and of the soul from sin.

While there is much that is false in the teachings of Philo he certainly prepared the minds of many for the enlightened teachings of the New Testament. While he struggles with his irreconcilable theories regarding the unapproachable, and yet self-manifested God, he prepares the way for the teaching of the New Testament concerning the Father in Heaven and the Son who reveals him. While the same inconsistency is betrayed by him with regard to the "Word of God," he affords at least a standing-place before the Gentiles for a much greater teacher, who by inspiration shall declare the true doctrine of the Eternal Word, who was "in the beginning with God" and who "was God."[29]

We must therefore find the true successor of the Hebrew not in the Jew of Palestine but in the Jew of

[29] See *Bampton Lectures* for 1866; Liddon, Lecture I, 1.

the dispersion. The Jew of Palestine was occupying himself with the attempt the more jealously to preserve his inheritance from the profane presence of the stranger. He would wall the faith of his fathers round about up to heaven, and preserve it for his own benefit and for that of his children. The Grecian, on the other hand, would break down the wall upon every side, and admit all who would enter to the enjoyment of its privileges. The Jew of Palestine looked forward to the coming of a Messiah who should be their peculiar property, and who would lead them in a holy warfare, wherein all nations should be subjugated and brought under their yoke. The Grecian yearned for the coming of a great teacher who would lead, not only himself, but all with whom he was associated, both Jew and Gentile, to the knowledge of the truth. The Judaism of Palestine was ossified in its exclusiveness, its isolation and its pride. It was an old fig-tree withered at the roots. The Judaism of the dispersion was quickened into the promise of new life by its contact with the thought of the heathen world. It was a cutting from the old tree, growing in new soil, putting forth fresh green leaves, and budding for a glorious fruitage. The multitude of the dispersion, rather than the minority of Palestine, were to become the missionaries of the world. Grecian thought and Grecian methods were to become the medium through which the kingdoms of the world were to be embraced in the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. Judaism shall be set aside; Grecianism in a measure adopted. The Jew shall experience a yet greater transformation; and having become a "new creature" shall extend the blessings of the new covenant to the whole wide world.

MARE
GERMANICUM
Eboracum
BRITANNIA
Londinium
GERMANIA
Lutetia
GALLIA
Limonum
Geneva
RHETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
R. Rhodanus
R. Padus
HISPANIA
Massilia
Ravenna
ILLYRICUM
ROME
Capua
ITALIA
Cumæ
Puteoli
Pæstum
Brundusium
Tarentum
Sybaris
Croton
Rhegium
Syracuse
Maenoca
Algiers
Hippo Regius
Hippo Zarytus
Carthage
Naxos
MARE
MAURETANIA
AFRICA
Ptolemais
CYRE
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES.
0 100 200 300 400 500

THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
UNDER AUGUSTUS;
Showing the more important
GREEK AND JEWISH COLONIAL CENTRES.
Greek
Jewish
SCYTHIA
SARMATIA
MARE CASPIUM
Panticapæum
Istria
(Ister)
PONTUS EUXINUS
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Nicopolis
THRACE
Philippi
PONTUS & BITHYNIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
R. Araxes
Troy
Sardis
GALATIA
Antioch
Iconium
Nisibis
Nineveh
Ecbatana
PISIDIA
CILICIA
Issus
Seleucia
MEDIA
Arbela
RHODES
Antioch
Thapsacus
MESOPOTAMIA
PARTHIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
Salamis
Seleucia
Palmyra
Pasargadæ
Tyre
Babylon
Susa
Persepolis
Damascus
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
Alexandria
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
Petra
Tanis
Heliopolis
Memphis
Mt. Sinai
ARABIA
EGYPTUS
Thebes
SINUS PERSICUS

Chapter XI.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD.

PROPHETIC FORECAST.

While the Jews were in captivity at Babylon the prophet Daniel had been called before Nebuchadnezzar to interpret the dream wherein he had seen an image whose head was of gold, whose breast and arms were of brass, whose legs were of iron, and whose feet were part of iron and part of clay.[1] The prophet declared that it represented four great world-empires. Nebuchadnezzar himself was the head of gold. After him should arise another kingdom inferior to his own; following that, a third kingdom of brass, and finally a fourth kingdom; each to bear rule over the entire earth. These different kingdoms were respectively the Babylonian, the Persian, the Macedonian and the Roman; and each was characterized in the most remarkable language. The various metals of which the image was composed represented them in order; Babylonia, *gold;* Persia, *silver;* Macedonia, *brass;* and Rome, *iron.* A similar vision was also accorded to the prophet Daniel himself.[2] He saw four beasts coming up out of the sea, the first like a lion, with an eagle's wings; the second like a bear, holding three ribs in its mouth; the third like a leopard, with four wings upon its back

(1) Daniel, ii. (2) Daniel, vii.

and having four heads; and the fourth a beast dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly, with great iron teeth, which broke in pieces and stamped under its feet those that opposed it, and which was diverse from the beasts which had preceded it. The same empires are indicated in this vision of the prophet with the same careful distinctions in regard to their character; the lion, with the eagle's wings, denoting Babylonia; the bear, with three ribs in its mouth, Persia; the leopard, with its four wings, Macedonia, and the indescribable beast, Rome. We cannot exhibit at length the application of these visions to the empires which they described; but we note particularly with regard to the last one that *it was diverse from the empires which had preceded it*—a distinction which seems to have occupied the mind of the prophet, inasmuch as he gives it special emphasis in its repetition. The character of this diversity is probably indicated in the words of Daniel in connection with the dream of Nebuchadnezzar: "Whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." Daniel still further informed Nebuchadnezzar that in the days of these kings the God of heaven would set up a kingdom which should never be destroyed; as the stone cut out of the mountain without hands had broken in pieces the image of his dream. At the conclusion of his own vision also it was made known to him that with the decline of the dominion of the last empire, "The kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High whose

kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

The prophecies of Daniel had been in the course of fulfillment since the Babylonian captivity. The empires of Persia and of Macedonia had passed away, and Rome was now in possession of the world. Let us endeavor to ascertain in what respects the empire of Rome was diverse from the empires which had preceded it, and whether its diversity was such as to promote the establishment of that spiritual kingdom which the God of Heaven should set up.

Preceding empires have been called in common with that of Rome "*universal*." They succeeded in exercising dominion over a large portion of the earth's surface and the civilized peoples of the world. In the kingdoms which preceded Rome, however, subject nations had been ruled by sheer force, without any attempt upon the part of the conqueror either to adapt his government to their forms of life or to persuade them to adopt the habits of the sovereign people. They effected, therefore, a mere agglomeration of people in which there was no "mixture" whatsoever, not even so much as might be produced in the combination of iron and clay. The world was held together by the imperious will of a single man, by the military force which he was able to command and by the military statesmanship which he had the capacity to exhibit. Inasmuch as there was no coherence between the different parts of the empire it naturally fell to pieces so soon as the binding force of a strong central sovereignty was removed.

In such a state there could be no sympathy whatso-

ever between the members of different races. There could scarcely be any intercourse. Prejudice, jealousy and hostility would be supreme; and instead of the promotion of fraternal feelings the tendency would be in an entirely opposite direction. It is plain, therefore, that the extension of the hope of Israel to the other nations of the world could not possibly have taken place under an empire of this character. If that extension were to be world-wide there must necessarily be, in order to its promotion, something which should at least approach world-wide unification.

This was the chief respect in which the Roman empire differed from the other universal empires which had preceded it, and the endeavor will now be made to show how that unification was brought about.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ROME.

The geographical position of Rome from the first furnished the opportunity for her to become a great empire. The Mediterranean was the central sea of the ancient world, and about it dwelt the cultivated nations. Into the very midst of this sea projected the long peninsula of Italy, and in the very midst of this peninsula—the central point of the central country of the world—was located the predestined imperial city.[3] From this point the world was to be conquered and controlled, and for this purpose the Romans were prepared by temperament and by the discipline of history. They were warriors from the beginning. They never were in love with peace; they were never fond of the problems of thought; they were never skillful in the

[3] See *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*; Ullhorn, p. 15.

arts, but from the beginning they were passionately devoted to deeds of prowess and most sagacious in their political methods. They possessed also from the beginning a rare faculty of assimilation and a great gift for organization, legislation and government. They were skilled in the mechanic arts. They were natural engineers. They knew how to make roads and build bridges and construct walls and castles, as well as how to assault or defend them.

At first they were disposed to divide the world into two classes only: friends to be protected, enemies to be subdued. Unless there were a special league to the contrary they believed that the only law between them and those of another race was the law of the stronger, which entitled them to subjugate any whom they might plunder or enslave.(4) The tribe which lived upon the bank of a river opposite to that upon which the Romans had settled, became their "*rivals*" —the word itself meaning simply the dwellers upon the side of a stream.(5) In the most loyal adherence to this terrible principle, as expressed in the words, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy," the Romans completed their initial history.

From the very beginning of their history, however, the Romans were obliged by the force of circumstances to curb their natural ferocity and modify the odious distinctions which they would gladly have preserved between themselves and their conquered subjects. They were compelled, in order to their own preservation, to court the alliance of aliens and to ex-

(4) *History of the Romans Under the Empire;* Merivale, ch. i.
(5) *Life of Christ;* Geike, ch. i.

tend to them a share in their own exclusive privileges. In this way the races of the Italian peninsula were consolidated previous to the inauguration of the era of foreign conquest, and a policy adopted whereby the iron should be mixed with clay and the unification of the world promoted.

In 250 B. C. the power of Rome is rising in the subjugation of Italy. Then follows the long struggle with Carthage, in which it seems for a time as though an African city might become the mistress of Italy, Europe and the world. But in the year 146 B. C., at the close of the third Punic war, Carthage is captured and destroyed. Only a tenth part of the inhabitants are left alive, and these are sold into slavery. The city is set on fire and almost entirely consumed, and its territory becomes a Roman province. Although Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, a portion of Spain, Illyricum and parts of Gaul had been already subjugated, yet the domination of Rome really dates from this point, in the extinction of her only formidable rival.

Only 150 years now remain until the Messiah shall appear; but in that century and a half Rome shall possess herself of the world and accomplish the task of its unification. With what marvelous rapidity it is done! Macedonia is subjugated, Corinth is taken and destroyed, and all Greece is reduced to a Roman province within the space of twenty-five years. Then follows the era of the civil wars, the Jugerthine war and the Italian war, during which Italy is ravaged and desolated; but these conflicts produce this most important result—the imperial city is constrained to make all Italy, with a few unimportant exceptions, the

equal of herself in all Roman privileges. Then follows a period of rapid extension under the command of those great generals, Sylla, Pompey and Julius Cæsar. Sylla captured Athens 86 B. C., defeated Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, in the great battle of Chæronea, and insured the Roman domination in Asia Minor, 84 B. C. Pompey exterminated the pirates who had made the navigation of the Mediterranean unsafe even for Roman vessels of war, 63 B.C.; drove Mithridates into Armenia and overthrew the Syrian kingdom of the Seleucidæ; entered Judæa and captured Jerusalem, establishing in the Roman territories of Asia the two provinces of Pontus and Syria, and returned to Rome 61 B. C.

Julius Cæsar, after years devoted to literature and oratory, undertook the conquest of Gaul when he was forty years of age, returning in eight years to Rome, after the most brilliant success, to engage in war with Pompey. In the defeat of the latter he was elevated to supreme power, and Rome is elevated with him. The world is now at his feet, he sees no strong or worthy resistance on the whole broad horizon. But the extensive dominions of Rome cannot be held without a stronger central government. The Republic must give way to the Empire.

THE EMPIRE: JULIUS CÆSAR.

The construction of the empire was virtually the work of Julius Cæsar. Although his reputation rests chiefly upon his military exploits, it would yet be very unjust to his character to conceive of him merely as a conqueror. Indeed, its very completeness makes it

difficult to obtain a distinct grasp of his individuality. In every relation of life he attained, apparently without an effort, to the highest excellence; as an orator, a politician, a general, a man of letters, and a statesman.[6] He entered into active life at the great crisis in his country's history. The Romans, in consequence of their strong national individuality, their bravery and the unity of their purpose, had won the supremacy of the world, but the qualities which were able to conquer an empire were not able to govern it. Those who belonged to families of distinction no longer emulated the virtues of their forefathers. The sense of justice no longer prevented the cruelties which are apt to be shown in connection with the exercise of power, and Rome was in greater danger than ever before, and in greater danger than at any time afterwards (until the death of the Antonines), of falling by its own weight. Even the rights which had been granted to the Latins and Italians could not be assured without an entire change of government, as those who were in power were sadly lacking in a sense of responsibility. The riches of the world were beginning to flow into the city, exciting the cupidity of those who enjoyed them. The demoralization which always accompanies the breaking up of old principles and the adjustment of new conditions manifested itself. The statesmen of the age were unable to understand it or to regulate it. Violence and misrule consequently ensued. Each political victory was achieved in the blood of the vanquished, and the Senate, which had conquered the world, was unable to defend itself. It could not exer-

(6) Merivale, ch. xxii.

cise the ordinary functions of government without temporarily intrusting to some citizen those autocratic powers which might be turned against itself. There was great danger of Rome perishing in the crisis and leaving but a faint impress upon the nations whom she had subdued. That the great empire did not fall before some Eastern conqueror, or break up into petty kingdoms parcelled out among her great citizens, is due, so far as we are able to judge, to Julius Cæsar alone. He was a totally different man from the others which were produced by the age, and it is to his genius and foresight, under providence, that the future career of the imperial city was due. He was a man of the most extensive mental culture, of most indomitable purpose, and gifted, perhaps, as none whom the world has ever seen, in intellectual resources. He attained distinction in the forum with the same ease that he won it in the field. During the long period that he remained in Rome he gave his time and strength to the work of reviving the democratic spirit, and through his influence the power of the tribunes of the people was restored and that of the Senate diminished. In the meantime Pompey had received the command against the pirates of the Mediterranean and the control of the Mithridatic war. He had been invested with absolute control for three years over the whole of the Mediterranean Sea, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the coasts of Syria, and for fifty miles in land, and under him were twenty-five prætors of senatorial rank chosen by himself. It appears, therefore, that there was scarcely any of the Roman territory which was not instructed to obey him. Cæsar still

remained in Rome, devoting himself to law and the improvement of the capital city. He took charge of the public buildings, decorated the forum, built the basilica which bore his name, and erected porticos under the capitol for the reception of the works of Greek art.

After a time Pompey returned from the east and disbanded his army, and coincident with his discharge of a military office Cæsar assumed one and left for Spain. Here he exhibited for the first time those qualities which distinguished him in the larger sphere with which his name was to be afterwards associated. On his return he again devoted himself to law and to the amendment of some measures with which he was dissatisfied; by which means he was enabled to suppress the bribery and corruption which were common among the public functionaries and even among his own subordinates. These measures aroused the hostility of the Senate and of other influential men in the state, and they thought to get rid of him by passing a law which gave him the provinces of Gaul for five years, with the command of four legions. After receiving this commission Cæsar staid in the neighborhood of the city just long enough to secure the election of his friends as consuls, and then set out for the country which has ever since been identified with his name.

We cannot describe in detail the marvelous work which occupied him for the next eight years. The labor was stupendous. He was obliged to march and countermarch through an unknown country, finding his own way through woods, across mountains and over rivers; building his own bridges, making his own maps and

planning campaigns against enemies whose numbers and location were very imperfectly known. The reader is aware of the magnificent success which he achieved. In the year 52 B. C. he won the final victory over Vercingetorix, a general second only to himself among the warriors of that age, and reduced Gaul to subjection. The following year saw the final pacification of the country. It never attempted afterwards to revolt, but remained a contented part of the Roman Empire, loyal and even enthusiastic. On no other subject country did Rome succeed in so impressing her language, laws and civilization, and from no other did she draw so many loyal legions.

In the success which Cæsar had achieved it became evident that a collision must soon arise between himself and his great but more ambitious rival Pompey. The details of the quarrel are somewhat complicated and cannot be here narrated. It had its root however in the desire of the Senate to advance Pompey and humiliate Cæsar, and in Cæsar's knowledge of the fact that he could not trust himself to the power of his enemies. Yet he displayed great moderation in the crisis. He gave up two legions which were demanded of him, and proposed to the Senate that both Pompey and himself should simultaneously disarm. Although the motion was carried in the Senate, Pompey refused to act upon it, on the plea that Cæsar was returning with his army into Northern Italy. Cæsar therefore crossed the Rubicon 49 B. C., and the struggle for supreme power began. The conflict lasted for five years, during which he crushed the armies of his enemies as he found them, in almost every part of Europe, as well as in Asia and

Africa, and thereby laid the foundations for his own imperial power and that of his successors very deep and strong. In July, 45 B. C., he entered Rome as conqueror, and undertook to find leisure to govern the world which he had subdued. One more struggle, however, was necessary, before peace was finally concluded. The sons of Pompey had collected a large army in Spain. Cæsar was obliged to march against them, the expedition resulting in their entire defeat. A few months afterwards he was assassinated.

During the brief intervals which he had spent at Rome, as well as in consequence of the influence which he was able to exercise even while he was absent, he had produced a mighty change in the character of the Roman government. He increased the number of the Senate to nine hundred, thus making it more thoroughly representative of all classes and all parts of the empire. He increased the number of civil magistrates and reformed the courts of justice. He gave the rights of citizenship to men of science and to those who professed the liberal arts. He enforced the law without favor, and attempted, though with little success, to restrain the luxury of the age. In brief he succeeded in restoring to Rome the reputation which it had forfeited, of being just with regard to the rights of men and liberal with regard to their needs and sentiments. His spirit and policy were cosmopolitan.[7] While he scandalized the conservative Romans by filling the offices with foreigners he succeeded thereby in winning not only the allegiance, but the positive affection of those whom he had himself subdued. The tendency of the imperial

[7] See *Beginnings of Christianity;* Fisher, p. 51.

system which he inaugurated, in consequence of that which he himself had done, was from the beginning towards administrative uniformity and the effacing of the distinction between the conquerors and the conquered, citizen and subject. It must be clear proof that his rule was beneficent that the provinces rejoiced when that of the Senate was subverted and the Imperial government took its place. These sentiments, indeed, scarcely experienced any change, even during the reign of the profligate emperors who subsequently ruled. With Julius Cæsar, therefore, Rome became not merely the mistress of the world; but its center, its capital. The Roman spirit was extended throughout the provinces, their subjects became its citizens, and at length the chief rulers of the State were taken from those provinces and from the barbarians themselves. A leveling influence was introduced which produced a sense of equality among men.

AUGUSTUS.

In the death of Julius Cæsar the great work to which he had devoted his talents and his energies was left incomplete; the empire was not yet actually established nor the world consolidated. This was now to become the task of his successor.

In the assassination of Cæsar the senatorial party, led by Brutus and Cassius, seemed to be triumphant; but he had in his will named his grand-nephew and adopted son, Octavius, as his heir, and he appeared at once to challenge the murderers of his benefactor. He was yet a youth in his nineteenth year and was studying in Epyrus under the rhetorician Apollodorus; but

so soon as the news of his bereavement reached him, he hastened to Italy and claimed the inheritance which had been bequeathed to him. He conducted himself with a prudence and moderation far beyond his years, received the loyal support of the Cæsarian veterans, entered into an alliance with Marcus Antonius and was speedily acknowledged as the head of the popular party, while Brutus and Cassius fled from Italy. These two great champions of the Senate and the Republic were finally confronted by the two great leaders of the people and the Empire, upon the battle-field of Philippi, in Thrace. Here, at last, the aristocracy was humiliated and the Republic perished, Brutus and Cassius both committing suicide.[8]

For a time Octavius and Antonius divided the government between them, the former being supreme in the West, the latter in the East. But final collision and a struggle for the undivided dominion was inevitable. A quarrel arose between them, which culminated in the battle of Actium (B. C. 31) and the death of Antonius. Octavius returned to Rome, the master of the world.

Events were thus shaped by the guiding hand of divine providence in order to the accomplishment of the divine purpose. The world must be brought under a single government, and that government such as should be adapted to the dissemination of the Gospel. It was for this that Brutus and Cassius were permitted to suffer defeat at Philippi and Antonius at Actium. Had Brutus and Cassius prevailed, the unification of the world would have been indefinitely delayed; had Anto-

[8] See Merivale, xxiv.

nius conquered, the empire would have been an Asiatic despotism, and Europe, in which the noblest triumphs of the cross were to be secured, would have been rent and torn by barbarians, if indeed it could have succeeded in throwing off the alien yoke. As it was, a young man, everyway qualified to rule, was put in possession of supreme power, and the world was prepared for the Redeemer.

On the return of Octavius to Rome he received the unqualified support of all classes. The Senate decreed to him unlimited powers, and he devoted himself to civil affairs. The peace for which the Roman people had sighed for generations had come at length, and the doors of the temple of Janus which had stood upon their rusting hinges from times immemorial were at last closed. The empire was now to enjoy a period of profound tranquility, during which the Prince of Peace himself was to appear, attended by those shining ministers who should sing over his cradle their message of "peace on earth."

In the meantime the organization of the empire was completed. It extended from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, a distance of more than three thousand miles; and from the Danube and the English Channel to the cataracts of the Nile. Rome was the capital of the world, and in her emperor, Octavius, she also had received a "head of gold." Her subjects were secure, prosperous, and, so far as they could be made so by temporal benefits, happy. The unification of the world had been accomplished.

ROMAN LAW.

We have thus far indicated, however, only the external history, and it remains for us to inquire concerning those internal influences which had served to bring about this result. It had not been accomplished by the instrumentality of war alone, nor by the sole power of its great conquerors. An intellectual discipline had been in progress from the earliest times, and especially, since the overthrow of the early Roman kingdom, under the Republic, which had culminated with Julius Cæsar and the organization of the empire.[9] Returning to the time of the foundation of the Republic we find that in the expulsion of its kings Rome was left in the condition of a house divided against itself. The patricians, who belonged to the royal party, and who were still its representatives, were accustomed to decide every question and to use their strength and influence in a manner which was most oppressive to the people. In consequence there arose a conflict between the patricians and the plebeians, which was not to be allayed until the latter had obtained just rights and recognition. The patricians, with whom was the wealth as well as the power, had enforced the most rigorous laws against their debtors, loading them with chains, driving them from their homes and entailing great suffering upon their families. The public lands, which had been obtained by conquest, were taken by the patricians for themselves for a very moderate rental, which in many cases was merely nominal and often was not paid at all. The plebeians were still

[9] An excellent *resume* of the subject here treated will be found in *Labberton's* (New) *Historical Atlas.*

further deprived of the opportunity to acquire small holdings, or even to till those which they did not possess, by employment of slave labor; and yet, notwithstanding the fact that their rights were denied them, they were obliged to bear the burden of military service. At length they arose in a body, probably returning from some victory — the details are not known—and encamped upon the Sacred Mount, three miles from Rome, where they declared their determination of remaining in order to found another rival city. This movement of the plebeians brought about an agreement between themselves and the patricians, whereby it was stipulated (494 B. C.) that the former should elect magistrates of their own, to be known as "Tribunes of the People," who should have the right to interpose a veto upon any legal or administrative measure. To secure to the plebeians this new right it was decreed that the persons of the Tribunes were sacred, and that whosoever used violence against them should be declared an outlaw. From this time onward the rights of the common people were more and more acknowledged, until finally they stood upon equal footing with all others in the councils of the State. A new assembly, known as the Council of the Tribes (Comitia Tributa), was instituted, in which the plebeians exercised legislative functions, the patricians still retaining their own assembly, the Council of the Senate (Comitia Curiata). The rivalry between the two parties, however, continued until the state of matters had become intolerable, when, in the year 460 B. C., the tribunes of the people demanded that a commission should be appointed to define in writing the jurisdic-

tion of the magistrates, in order that a check might be put upon the arbitrary and oppressive administration of the patricians. Within a single year the plebeians united upon this issue, requiring that the whole law, public and private, should be codified, that its uncertainty might be removed. After a few years' resistance the Senate gave its assent to a demand which it could no longer withstand. The result was embodied in the XII Tables, laws engraven upon wooden tablets, at first ten only, but in the next year extended to twelve, and formally completed 448 B. C.[10] Herein was the foundation of subsequent Roman law. The XII Tables were the Magna Charta of Roman freedom. The work was so thoroughly done that it required little amendment during the next two centuries.

It is worthy of note in passing that the institution of the XII Tables is almost cotemporaneous with the birth of Socrates and of Malachi.

The XII Tables thus became the basis of what is known as Roman Civil Law (Jus Civile). Improvements were made in this law from time to time as the power of the people increased, but it was not sufficiently comprehensive to become the permanent code of Rome, inasmuch as it contemplated only such a condition of affairs as existed while Rome was still a comparatively insignificant city in possession of a restricted territory. After the destruction of Carthage, however, the influx of strangers into the capital began; and rapidly increased. First, Latins and other allies; later, Greeks, Carthaginians and Asiatics of various tribes.

[10] Enc. Brittanica: "*Roman Law.*" Mommsen; I, 365.

It became necessary, in order to the regulation of their affairs and the government of Rome under these new conditions, to provide a modification of the Civil Law inasmuch as it was applicable only to foreigners who were members of allied States, to which certain rights had been granted by treaty. The vast majority of those who settled in Rome were not, however, in this favored position, and even those who were, soon found that the Roman laws which applied to the acquisition of property and the discharge of contracts was too narrow for their requirements. Hence a second body of law was gradually developed, which is known as the "Law of Nations" (Jus Gentium).[11] Its application for a time seems to have been limited to transactions between non-citizens; or to those of citizens with non-citizens; but after a time it was also accepted in the dealings of citizens among themselves, and became an integral part of the Roman law. The condition of foreigners and of the common people in Rome was happily effected by the influence of this law. With the influx of strangers it was found that the administration was too onerous for a single magistrate, and therefore a second prætor was appointed. After a time the number of prætors was increased to four, and still later to six. Cæsar eventually raised their number to sixteen. But the ordinary administration of justice within the city was usually confined to two prætors, who represented the original incumbents of that office, and who came to be distinguished as the Prætor Urbanus, who had jurisdiction in those cases which arose between Roman

(11) See Mommsen; I, 213.

citizens and the Prætor Peregrinus, who had the supervision of all others.

In course of time, in consequence of the immense preponderance of the foreign subjects over the native subjects of Rome, the Law of Nations was preferred to the Civil Law; and this in turn led to other changes in the same direction, in which there was a struggle after a still higher ideal, which eventuated in a new form, known as the Natural Law (Jus Naturale). According to its principles, as defined by Cæsar, there is a great community of gods and of men, of which each single country was only a portion or a constituent part, and the Laws of Rome should conform to those of this great community. The Jus Naturale was thus intended to be a universal law, regulating the affairs of a universal empire, and conforming to those eternal principles by which the universe was governed—as Cæsar says, "wisely commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong." By this principle the whole body of Roman law was affected. It even softened the legislation relating to slavery and modified the relations of master and slave. While the Civil Law studied only the interest of citizens and the Law of Nations those of freemen, irrespective of nationality, the Law of Nature, theoretically at least, took in all mankind. In this respect it was a greater advance upon the Law of Nations than that had been upon the Civil Law. It not only insured the rights of foreigners at Rome, but it insured the rights of all men everywhere, wherever the Romans were in power; and not only their rights but also their privileges—opening before them every avenue of advantage and every door of preferment, so

that men of foreign descent might be elected to the Senate, or even reach the throne itself. Thus was unification promoted.

ROMAN CITIZENSHIP.

From the earliest times all the free inhabitants of Rome enjoyed equal rights. These rights were both public and private. The private rights of a Roman citizen were the power of legal marriage in the family of any other citizen, the power of making legal purchases and sales and of holding property, and the right to bequeath such property or inherit it. The public rights were the power of voting at any time when a citizen was allowed to vote, and eligibility to any office. The citizen enjoyed these rights not because he lived within the Roman territory, but because he was a member of the Roman commonwealth—one of those by whom and for whom its law was established. The early theory, as we have already indicated, was that a man who sojourned within the bounds of a foreign state was at the mercy of the latter and might be dealt with as a slave, and that all that belonged to him might be appropriated by the first comer. He was outside the pale of the law. Without some sort of alliance with Rome a stranger had no right, even though he lived in the city itself, to claim any protection either with regard to his person or his property. If he received any consideration it was through the appeal to the good offices of the magistrate, or through the intervention of some citizen to whom he was allied, and not by means of any civil action of his own. But after a time, in consequence of the additions to the body

of the law which we have observed, the foreigner, who was regarded originally as an enemy (hostis), came to be regarded only as an alien (peregrinus). He was not a citizen of Rome, and therefore not entitled to the rights of a citizen, nevertheless the Law of Nations recognized him as a freeman entitled to protection. With the extension of the Roman dominion certain rights were also extended to the conquered towns. Municipal cities were established, the inhabitants of which, while sojourning in Rome, might exercise the rights of citizens; the private rights, at least, if not the public ones. Some of them were permitted to choose their own municipal officers. There were also Latin colonies which consisted of communities of Roman citizens who had settled upon lands ceded to the capital by their inhabitants, and who there formed the ruling class. In such colonies the citizens, while retaining their private rights, renounced their public ones. There were also certain cities of a favored class, whose relation to Rome was specifically defined by treaty. In some cases these cities appointed their own magistrates, whereas they were generally ruled by those who had been sent out from Rome. Finally there were Roman colonies distinguished from Latin colonies in this, that they consisted of Roman citizens who had removed with their families to places selected by the government. They formed a military station. Their government was modeled after the government of Rome, and they retained all their rights as Roman citizens. By means of such colonies planted in selected places Italy was kept in subjection.

It appears, then, that even under the Republic Ro-

man citizenship was quite extensive. But under the emperors, beginning with Julius Cæsar, the privilege of Roman citizenship was very widely extended. It might be acquired by purchase, by military service, by favor, or by manumission; and a right once obtained descended to a man's children—even though he were not of Roman origin. Many of the Jews who rendered service to Julius Cæsar in the Egyptian war were probably made Roman citizens. Among the privileges attached to this privileged class, in addition to those we have mentioned, were the following very important ones; they could not be bound or imprisoned without a formal trial; they might not be scourged; they had the right to trial before a Roman magistrate and they were permitted to appeal from a provincial tribunal to the Emperor himself.

No such rights as these were given by any of the great empires which had preceded Rome to their conquered subjects, and it is apparent that the humane provisions of Roman law (notwithstanding its external severity), and the wide toleration which the adherents of all religions and the members of all races enjoyed under its administration, and more particularly the extension of the peculiar privileges which were afforded in Roman citizenship, must have availed to draw the diverse peoples of the world into a closer association, and to produce a much greater degree of unification than had ever been exhibited in the history of the world. It had been foreshadowed by the poet Terence (born 195 B. C.), who, anticipating the best sentiment of Rome as expressed in its law, had written: "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto."

ROMAN ROADS AND TRAVELERS.

This unification was still further promoted by the facility of intercourse which was enjoyed by the inhabitants of the empire. The Roman territory was covered with a network of magnificent roads. The most celebrated of these was the Appian Way, which was commenced by Appius Claudius 312 B. C., who extended it from Rome to Capua. It was ultimately continued to Brundusium, a total length of about 350 miles, and was completed about 30 B. C. It was the model for all the other roads subsequently constructed. Upon a carefully prepared foundation were placed huge blocks of hard stone which were fitted to each other with great exactness. Its breadth was from fourteen to eighteen feet, including the footpaths. It is in use even at the present day, the original pavement being still traveled in a number of places. Five such main roads went out from Rome to the extremities of the empire, and these, with their branches running in whatever direction public convenience required, were connected at the sea-ports with the routes of maritime travel. Ordinarily they moved in straight lines, crossing mountains and bridging rivers, binding together the most remote cities and connecting them all with the capital. A journey might have been made over these highways, interrupted only by brief voyages, from Alexandria to Carthage, thence through Spain and France to Northern Britain, returning by way of Leyden, Cologne and Milan, continuing eastward to Constantinople, crossing the Hellespont and proceeding through Asia Minor to Antioch, and returning again to Alexandria. The traveler

would thus have gone about the whole circumference of the Roman empire — a journey exceeding seven thousand miles. During the whole distance he could measure his progress by the milestones along the roads; he would be furnished with maps of the routes, giving the distance from place to place; he would find stopping-places for the night provided for him; a system of postal conveyances used by the officers and agents of the government, together with the means of travel for the public generally. In the large cities he could hire carriages and arrange for continuing his journey by a method somewhat resembling the modern post-coach.[12]

It must also be remembered that the traveler through the entire course of his journey would certainly be able to make himself understood in the use of one of two languages, the Greek or the Roman. He would find, in general, Greek spoken throughout the East, and Latin throughout the West; although the Latin language was spoken to some extent where the Greek prevailed, and *vice versa*. North of Italy the Gauls had very rapidly succumbed to the influence of Roman customs, and had adopted the Roman language. The same effect had followed in Spain to a greater or less degree. Latin was the language of the court and of the camp. Roman magistrates, wherever they were, promulgated their laws and decrees in their own tongue, and both Romans and Greeks were so widely distributed and in such great numbers that one who spoke either language, but not the other, would find some persons in every considerable place with whom he

(12) *Beginnings of Christianity;* Fisher, p. 62.

could communicate. Wherever he went, his person and property would be secure, and particularly after the accession of Augustus the universal tranquility of the world would in itself be a temptation to travel. Merchants would be disposed to visit foreign markets and negotiate with their distant correspondents in person. Their property was as secure upon the sea as upon the land, for the pirates had been swept from the Mediterranean. The annexation of Egypt by Augustus enabled him to establish a new road for commerce with the East by way of the Nile and Arabian Gulf, and over such highways the merchants of Rome and of other great cities visited every land. They went with their caravans to Ethiopia and India. They had their ports of trade in Britain and Ireland. The luxury of the capital stimulated their trade, and whatever could gratify the palate was brought from all quarters to the markets of Rome. The sea was alive with vessels and the land with wagons, transporting to the imperial city and to the other great centers of civilization the products of every clime.

But commercial gain was not the only motive which impelled to travel. Journeys were undertaken through scientific curiosity and the desire for knowledge. Each province had its particular seat of education to which students resorted. Rome, Alexandria, Athens, Antioch, Corinth and Jerusalem were frequented by those who came as students from all parts of the world. In some cities chairs of instruction were established by the state, and the result somewhat resembled a modern university. Teachers of philosophy and of rhetoric journeyed from city to city. Artists in marble and

oil led a wandering life, as they journeyed in the pursuance of their vocations, or were summoned from city to city for some task requiring their skill. Great public festivals also drew together throngs of spectators, and religious ceremonies of various kinds exercised an attractive power. Visits were paid to the shrines of heathenism; invalids undertook long journeys in the quest of health; tourists visited different countries to inspect historical places or gratify their curiosity. The celebrated localities of Egypt, Palestine, Greece and Italy possessed the same fascination over lovers of antiquity which similar places exercise to-day, and finally there were places of fashionable resort where multitudes collected at the proper season to indulge in gaiety, dissipation and intrigue.

But in all these great movements Rome was the center, as no city has been, either before or since. Everything and everybody tended towards Rome. Whoever desired anything in art or science, or possessed anything which he wish to have recognized; whoever hoped to gain any right, or expected any advancement, or coveted any honor, or aimed at the acquisition of wealth, or desired for himself to see the wonders of the world, went to Rome. In the markets of the Imperial City the cultivated Greek met the ignorant provincial; the merchant of Alexandria, who had come to speculate in corn, was joined by the half-savage African, who perhaps had come with a collection of wild animals for the amphitheatre.[13] The Syrian, the Gaul, the Jew, the Thracian, and the representatives of many other peoples, jostled each other

(13) *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism;* Ullhorn, p. 17.

upon the streets. The current toward Rome had also a corresponding one outward into the provinces, both promoting the fusion of the nations. Over the Roman roads marched the legions to keep control of the subjugated world or to protect its boundaries. Pro-consuls and prætors went into the provinces to administer law and justice. Couriers bore the edicts of the Emperor from the center to the circumference of the empire, and Romans of distinction journeyed to gain a knowledge of the world. The members of Roman colonies also, who had themselves originally lived in Rome, or whose fathers had lived there, went back and forth on their errands of business or pleasure.

RESULTS.

Certainly this is the picture of an Empire "diverse" from all its predecessors. Under what wonderful influences the fusion of races was accomplished and the unification of the world promoted! No such picture as is presented in the Roman Empire was ever exhibited by the extension of the Babylonian, the Persian or the Macedonian power. These kingdoms had simply collected multitudes of men under the sway of a single master; they were colossal despotisms. They had brought their subjects together under a central power and put an end to their tribal wars. Nations were held together in a single bundle; but the rights of individuals were never esteemed, and the nations themselves were never assimilated. The former empires were conglomerates; reminding one of certain rocks consisting of widely different constituents, kept in place by the pressure which has been exerted upon them.

Even under the dominion of the Greeks, who had attached much moral value to the individual and developed a system of laws in which the will of the despot was superseded, there was no coherence between the small communities of which their commonwealth was composed. Their confederacies were easily dissolved and therefore easily crushed by the common enemy. Alexander founded no united dominion. His empire fell to pieces at his death. Rome on the contrary, moving forward with a slower advance and developing by a certain method of accretion whereby she was enabled to assimilate that which she added to herself, held what she won, not by the iron grasp of a despot, but by the sagacious policy of a state, which, without overturning local customs and laws, dissolved the political bonds of the nations which she subjugated by establishing still stronger bonds of connection with herself. She treated her colonies and dependencies so justly that she found in the very communities which she had annexed, her most trustworthy supporters.

In consequence of this Roman policy the nations which had lived and labored apart, together with all their gains and their achievements, their forms of life and of activity, their philosophies and their religions, were comprised in one great empire. There has never been another in the whole course of history which so united in itself the cultivated nations of its own time. And when in addition, we remember the unifying effect which had been produced through the extension of Greek thought and the dispersion of the Jewish religion, we are constrained to believe that Almighty God, in his divine providence had himself prepared

the world for the reception of a revelation, in which not only its unification but its positive unity should be at last exhibited, and the yearnings of mankind for social combination and spiritual fellowship be satisfied.

Tyre
ITURÆA
TRACHONITIS
Ptolemais
Sephoris
GALILEE
Sea of Galilee
Strato's Tower
Cæsarea
Pella
AURANITIS
Sebaste
Antipatris
Jordan River
SAMARIA
Joppa
Diospolis
Lydda
Jericho
Modein
JERUSALEM
Askelon
Gaza
DEAD SEA
Hebron
Masada
Callirhoe
JUDÆA
IDUMÆA
Petra
PALESTINE
UNDER
THE MACCABEES & HEROD.
Maccabean Boundary
Herodian "

Chapter XII.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF ISRAEL.

In the preceding chapters we have followed through five centuries the converging lines of divine providence as they at once approach each other and the person of the coming Redeemer. Yet one element remains and that perhaps the most important—the history of that portion of the chosen people who occupied the chosen land and inherited its ancestral customs. The Redeemer is to appear in this land; he is to be sent to this people. How, then, are the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" to be particularly prepared for his coming in this culminating period of their national life? We proceed to answer.

THE RETURN FROM BABYLON.

When the people of God were carried away captive to Babylon silence and darkness ensued. We catch in certain books of the Old Testament some scattered glimpses of their condition; but the manner of their life is almost entirely concealed and we learn but little of their employments, their associations or their aspirations. At the conclusion of this period however they emerge from the cloud, and we at once perceive that a remarkable change has been wrought in them. A comparatively small portion of the nation, comprising the humblest and poorest, return to the chosen land; but, though poor and humble they manifest a deep religious earnest-

ness. Every idolatrous inclination seems to have disappeared, and they now devote themselves with unparalleled fidelity to the preservation of their divine institutions. A new national life is thereby inaugurated fundamentally different from the life which obtained before the exile; a life in which all considerations, social and political, are dominated by religion. A new class of leaders appears, the character of which continues to develop until it finds its supreme expression in the Maccabean princes.[1] The effect of the influences thus set in motion is comprehended in the title of the present chapter, *The Consolidation of Israel.* The nation was unified. Their aim, their hope, their zeal, became intense, single and undivided; and although oftentimes disturbed by foreign complications and rent by internal factions, they set themselves as one man to the realization of their one great governing ideal, the manifestation of the kingdom of God. Thus Israel was made ready for the Messiah.

We should remember at this point that the way of the Redeemer may be prepared by agents which are not fully in sympathy with his own purpose. The Lord may make choice of men and things which are not themselves altogether righteous to make his own paths straight. These returned Israelites sometimes adopted unworthy means in order to effect their national independence, their aspirations were in part the result of a misinterpretation of the promises of God; and yet they were distinctly employed in the execution

(1) It will not be necessary in this chapter to multiply references. The chief authorities, of course, are Josephus and the Books of Maccabees.

of the Lord's plans and prepared the way before his Messenger in a most signal manner.

HELLENISM AND JUDAISM.

We have observed in a preceding chapter that through the transformation of the Greek-speaking Jew, the middle ground was reached between exclusive Judaism and the Gentile world. Hellenism furnished the connecting link and the Jew of the dispersion became the great factor in the promulgation of the Gospel.

Let us now observe, on the other hand, that had hellenism been co-extensive with Judaism this most desirable result of hellenism would have certainly failed, simply for lack of the first and original factor. It was all-important that the portion of Israel which remained in the chosen land should be but little effected by the encroachments of hellenism. The central nucleus must be kept pure and in tact.

Had the same changes taken place in Judæa which occurred among the other nations reached by the conquests of Alexander, there would have remained no class upon earth to whom the Messiah, when he appeared, might present himself as to "his own"—the lineal successors of those to whom the original promises were made, and therefore the class who had the best right to look for their fulfillment in themselves. Though the gospel was ultimately to be preached to all the nations of the earth the Saviour must first be offered to those who were "Israelites indeed," and the Israelites indeed were preserved through the influences of which we are about to treat.

It was not, therefore, altogether unfortunate that

Judaism and hellenism developed considerable mutual opposition. So long as it did not run into absolute antagonism its outcome in the providence of God was almost wholly good. In the midst of the apparent discord there was a real divine harmony, which harmony is found not in the relations of the parties to each other but in the governing purpose of Almighty God. The broader hellenism and the narrower Judaism, each had its own important place to fill, and served in its own peculiar way the wonderful scheme of divine grace.[2] We have considered hellenism and deal now with Judaism.

The consolidation of Israel was twofold: First, *Political*. Second, *Religious*. We proceed to the first.

POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION.

In the turbulent period that followed upon the division of the empire of Alexander the Great, Palestine was the object of strife between the Greek kings of Egypt and the Greek kings of Syria. Sometimes it was under the dominion of the one, sometimes under the dominion of the other; though with short intervals it continued to be tributary to the Ptolemies from 320 B. C. to 203 B. C. The country was ravaged successively by the forces of the contending armies, yet upon the whole, the time is to be regarded as one of general peace and prosperity.

The political government of the people during this period was vested in the high-priest, who, as the head of the state as well as the head of the church, ruled Judæa without any special interference from the Egyptian

[2] See Schurer, Division I; Vol. I: p. 198.

sovereigns. But towards the close of the Ptolemaic period the Jews became the objects of severe oppression, and the holiest sentiments were outraged by the treatment which they received. Ptolemy IV., Epiphanes, attempted to enter the temple at Jerusalem, and, being prevented, sought revenge by punishing the Jews in his own country, though they were entirely innocent of any offense. The Judæan Jews, incensed at this injustice, resolved to seek a protector elsewhere. They turned accordingly to the king of Syria, Antiochus the Great, and when he determined to attack Egypt, the Jews voluntarily joined him. The result was that Judæa came into possession of the Syrian kings, and the Seleucidæ were thenceforth its rulers.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

But by and by the Syrians became even more oppressive than the Egyptians. An attempt was made to overthrow the foundations of Judaism and convert its adherents by force to heathenism. Upon the accession of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, he determined to suppress the so-called superstitions of the Jews, and introduce Greek customs in their place. A number of the Jews declared in favor of these plans; but some opposition being aroused, Antiochus resolved to chastise his refractory subjects by plundering the temple and enriching himself, now sorely in need of money,[3] with the spoils. The hellenizing process was inaugurated with a rude violence unlike any to which the Jews had ever before been subjected. The Jewish

(3) The story is well told in Stanley III; Lecture xlviii.

worship was completely suspended; all Jewish ceremonies were strictly forbidden, and the people were thus roused to resistance. In the year 170 B. C., while Antiochus was engaged in an expedition against Egypt, the patriotic party under the high-priest Jason, who had been recently displaced by the Syrian king, succeeded in securing Jerusalem, forcing the rival high-priest whom Antiochus had installed to take refuge in the citadel. This act of apparent rebellion was the occasion of the persecution which followed. Toward the end of the year Antiochus returned from Egypt and marched against Jerusalem. Upon his arrival he ordered a general massacre, plundered the temple and carried away with him to Antioch its most valuable furniture, including the altar of incense, the table of shew-bread and the seven-branched candlestick.

But the worst was yet to come. Two years later Antiochus in a fit of madness directed his energies to the extermination of the Jewish religion and of those Jews who should interfere with his schemes. A large portion of the population refused to yield, and were treated with the utmost barbarity. Men were killed; women and children were sold into slavery. Jerusalem was largely depopulated and strangers were brought in as colonists. The walls of the outer city were thrown down, the fortifications of the old "City of David" were strengthened, and its citadel was garrisoned by a detachment of the Syrian army. The Jewish mode of worship was studiously outraged. Sacrifices were offered to the Greek gods in all the cities of Judæa. Once every month a rigorous search was instituted in order to ascertain whether any were

disobeying the commands of the Syrian king, and if a copy of the Scriptures were discovered in the possession of anyone, or if any Jewish rite was found to have been observed, the offender was immediately put to death. The culmination of this enormity was reached in December, B. C. 168, when a pagan altar was built on the site of the great altar of burnt offering, and a heathen sacrifice offered thereon. A huge herd of swine was introduced into the sacred precincts and there slaughtered. One of the largest was chosen from the rest and its blood was poured on the altar before the temple, and even sprinkled within the Holy of Holies. This was "the abomination of desolation" of the Book of Daniel, perhaps the most impious act of blasphemy ever committed within the sacred courts of the Lord's house. The persecution which followed was in keeping with the insults which preceeded. Implements of torture similar to those which have since been used—the rack, the stake and the wheel, were introduced in order to convert the Jews to heathenism. Women were hung upon the public wall with the babes whom they had circumcised slain upon their breasts. An old scribe named Eleasar, stripped of his priestly garments, refused to swallow the swine's flesh which was forced into his mouth, and was scourged to death. Other similar indignities followed, of which we have not the heart to speak.

THE ASMONÆANS.

The result of this persecution was a revival of patriotic pietism such as Israel had seldom known. A reaction followed which was directed not only against

the political power of the Syrian oppressor, but also against the Greek institutions which he represented. The excitement broke into revolution at the little town of Modein, the home of an aged priest named Mattathias, the great-grandson of a certain Chasmon (Asamonæos), from whom the family name was derived. Mattathias was the father of five noble sons, each inheriting his father's faith and courage, and thus presenting one of the most remarkable illustrations of family piety and influence in history. The names of these sons were John, Simon, Judas, Eleasar and Jonathan. When the king's officer arrived at their home with orders to overthrow the Jewish worship and offer heathen sacrifices, Mattathias indignantly declined to obey. He declared that though all the nations which were subject to the king of Syria should fall away at his behest from the religion of their fathers, he and his sons and brothers would walk in the covenant of their God. Acting upon his own convictions and probably without any thought of that to which his action would lead, he proceeded himself to violent measures. He slew a Jew, whom he found offering heathen sacrifice, upon his own altar. He also slew the king's commissioner and threw down the altar which had been built. Then he fled with his sons into the mountains. The little band were soon joined by a number of others, of like convictions, who had been fired with enthusiasm by their example, and organizing them into a rude band of warriors, Mattathias passed through the land overturning altars, slaying apostates, circumcising the uncircumcised children and arousing the spirit of resistance among

his countrymen. He was however not long permitted to continue the work, but died within the year. His sons buried him with great lamentations at Modein and resolved upon carrying out the plans which he had so nobly inaugurated.

JUDAS MACCABEUS.

And now there comes to the front the most distinguished person in the later history of the Palestinian Jews, Judas the son of Mattathias. His surname, the "Maccabee," by which he and his successors were to be known, is substantially the same as that of Charles of Austrasia, the hero of Poitiers, "Martel," *the hammer*. In him the political consolidation of Israel was substantially accomplished.

In the providence of God the way was prepared for Judas Maccabeus by the internal dissensions of the Syrian kingdom. Humanly speaking, it would have been impossible for the little band of Jews to have secured their independence against the Syrian monarchy as it was in its earlier period. At this time, however, it was beset by a number of powerful foes; Egypt upon the south, Parthia upon the west, and more particularly ambitious and rising Rome upon the east. It was also torn by internal dissension. Its history during this entire period is little less than the story of mutual jealousy and rivalry; the murder of some claimant to the throne by a more fortunate rival, and his speedy displacement in like manner at the hands of some crafty successor. On several occasions when the Syrian monarch attempted to lead an army into Judæa in order to the subjugation of its rebellious

people, he was obliged to withdraw in order to meet some more important foe from another quarter. At other times when he dispatched a general to attempt the task, his ambassador embraced the opportunity to plot against him by converting those whom he had been taught to regard as foes into allies. While, therefore, the struggle of the Maccabees was fierce, constant and heroic in the extreme, it could not have been successful except for these favoring circumstances.

At the first, however, Judas was obliged to fight his way inch by inch to the substantial independence which he achieved. His zeal was unparalleled. The words of his dying father, "My sons, be zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers," [4] were never forgotten. They furnished, indeed, the name (Zealots) to the party which succeeded the Maccabees. Nor was his zeal untempered with judgment. His tactics were many times Napoleonic. He understood the principle of dividing the army which opposed him and attacking and destroying them piecemeal.

After a succession of brilliant victories Jerusalem was wrested from the Syrians and the Jewish worship was restored upon Mount Zion. Judas then collected his fighting men at Mizpah not far from Jerusalem. By this time they consisted no longer of a small number of enthusiasts, but had grown into an army which he organized according to military rules. By prayer and fasting he prepared himself for the unequal

(4) I Maccabees ii: 50.

struggle which he knew to be before him. The two armies met in the neighborhood of Emmaus, northwest of Jerusalem. While the main body remained in camp, Gorgias, the Syrian general, endeavored with a strong detachment, which he considered amply sufficient, to engage the Jewish army. Judas was made aware of his plan, thrust his own army between that of Gorgias and the main body of Syrians, surprised the camp, threw the Syrians into a panic and burned their tents behind them. When Gorgias returned and saw the results of the Jewish victory he did not venture himself to engage the army of Judas, but turned and fled into Philistine territory. In the following year Lysias, the Syrian regent, himself led a more powerful army into Judæa, but although it greatly exceeded in numbers the little force commanded by the Maccabee, Judas again succeeded in winning so complete a victory that Lysias was obliged to return to Antioch to reorganize his forces. Judas now retired to Jerusalem and devoted himself to matters of internal reform. Everything which had been rendered impure in the heathen profanation of the temple was carried away and destroyed. The altar of burnt offering was entirely renewed. The sacred garments and furniture were replaced, and when everything was ready the temple was again consecrated in connection with the celebration of a great feast. The festivities lasted for eight days, and it was then resolved by the people that the memory of these events should be revived each year with the repetition of the festival observance. From this day, December B. C. 165, dates the "Feast

of the Dedication" mentioned in one of the gospels, attended by the Lord himself.[5]

For the eighteen months which followed Judas remained the undisputed master of Judæa. The king of Syria paid no attention to his movements because he was wholly occupied in other ways. Judas was thus allowed to arrange for the strengthening of his position. The fortifications of Jerusalem were rebuilt and certain important outposts were also fortified and garrisoned with Jewish troops. The Jews of the frontier settlements which were the most exposed to the aggressions of the heathen were brought into the more central territory in order to their own and its protection. But in the campaign which followed, the hitherto invariable success of the Maccabean army was arrested. Judas suffered a defeat at a point south of Jerusalem, and retired to the city, the armies of Syria soon appearing before its walls. A truce however was concluded, as Lysias was obliged to return home in consequence of certain disturbances at his own capital, and it was agreed that henceforth the Syrians were to impose no heathen customs upon the Jews. On this condition Jerusalem capitulated and the subjugation of the Jews was temporarily accomplished. Judas felt, however, that he had won a substantial victory, inasmuch as the Syrians had granted to him that for which war had been declared five years before. The understanding which was then reached was not interfered with by any of the succeeding kings of Syria, and none of them ever attempted again to introduce pagan ceremonies among the Jews.

(5) John x: 22.

Judas, however, was not willing that his countrymen should remain subjects of the king of Syria. His adherents in Jerusalem were consequently slain or expelled. This involved the Jews in further conflicts, but a decisive battle resulted in the utter defeat of the Syrians, Nicanor, the commander, being slain. His army being thrown into a panic by his death threw away their arms and fled. The Jews pursued them, surrounded them, and according to the statement of the first book of Maccabees cut them down to the last man. The victory was complete, and another annual festival was instituted to commemorate it, known as Nicanor's day.

Demetrius, the king, however, roused by the death and defeat of Nicanor dispatched a second great army to Judæa which appeared in the neighborhood of Jerusalem in April B. C. 161. The sudden return of the representatives of the conquered power, and their evident superiority, dismayed the little army of Judæans. They deserted from Judas in large numbers, and the few who remained faithful ventured upon the conflict with the courage of despair. The result was that they were overwhelmingly defeated, and Judas himself fell in the conflict.

SUCCESSORS OF JUDAS.

The power of the national party would seem to have been quite destroyed by the defeat and death of Judas, but his friends had no thought of abandoning their cause. Jonathan the brother of Judas was elected leader, and although most of the important strongholds of Judæa were now occupied by Syrian garrisons, the little com-

pany of patriots continued to plan and to pray and await the opportunity of redress. Meanwhile seven years passed by. The country was comparatively quiet, and in this quiet the Maccabeans were silently reinvigorating and increasing their shattered forces. In the year B. C. 153 the opportunity was found. Demetrius the Syrian king was confronted with a rival in the person of Alexander Balas who appeared as a claimant of the throne. Finding himself in danger the king sought to conciliate his Jewish subjects, and granted concessions to Jonathan. He gave him authority to summon an army for the king's support and Jonathan returned to Jerusalem invested with full power; but instead of acting altogether as the king had expected he took possession of Jerusalem and fortified the city in his own interest. Many of the Syrian garrisons had been recalled by Demetrius in order to his own protection, and Jonathan without fighting a battle was substantially master of the country.

Demetrius, however, had not been sufficiently liberal in his concessions, for he was at once out-bidden by his rival Balas. Jonathan accepted the proferred gifts and offices. The remaining members of the Greek party were driven out of the government in Judæa never again to regain their power, and thus favored only by circumstances the nationalist movement now stood upon more solid foundations than any which it had ever reached, and that without any conflict of arms.

JEWISH INDEPENDENCE.

We are thus brought to the point where the independence of Judæa is substantially secured, and can

follow no further in detail the vicissitudes of the national party.

Jonathan was treacherously put to death by Demetrius II., his brother Simon succeeding him. Simon carried the work of emancipation to complete success, compelled the last Syrian garrison in Palestine to capitulate, and in May, B. C. 142, entered Jerusalem the undisputed master of a free country. The final triumph was celebrated with great rejoicing, as well it might be, for Jerusalem had been under the yoke of some foreign despot for nearly three centuries and a half.

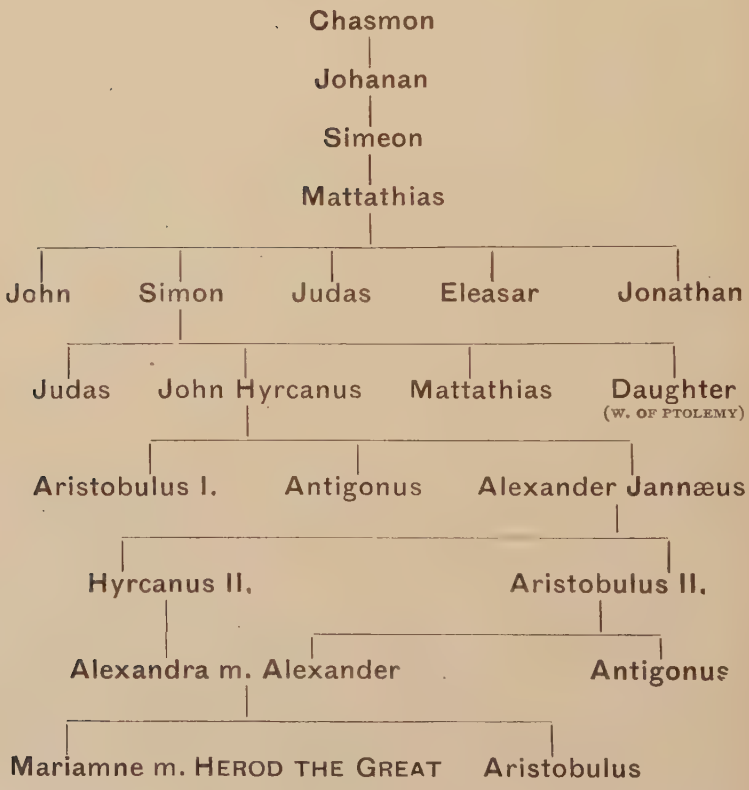
And now a number of years were passed in undisturbed peace and prosperity. The first book of Maccabees describes the conditions of the Jews during this happy time.

"Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. Israel rejoiced with great joy; for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to fray them. Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them." (8)

But Simon was not allowed to end his days in peace. Like all the brothers of that wonderful family he died a violent death. His own son-in-law Ptolemy, who was military commander in the plain of Jericho, plotted himself for the supreme power, and in February, B. C. 135, while Simon was visiting him upon a tour of official inspection, he and his two sons were treacherously murdered. Thus does the last member of the original family disappear from view. Its history is tragic, inspiring and instructive in the highest degree, and the

(9) I Maccabees xiv: 8.

THE ASMONÆANS



words of the dying Mattathias now appear not only as exhortation but almost as inspired prophecy, for every one of this devoted house "gave his life for the covenant of his fathers."

The accompanying chart exhibits the genealogy of the house, with the names of the successors of Simon. The Asmonæans ruled with varying success until B. C. 37, when Herod the Great having obtained possession of the remaining portions of Palestine laid seige to Jerusalem and captured it after a series of operations extending over fifteen days. Antigonus, the last of the Maccabees, was taken to Antioch where he was put to death, and the rule of the Asmonæan dynasty was thus brought to an end.

EFFECTS.

The influence of this great national uprising and its signal success may be imagined. It gave the Jews a deep sense of the inherent stability of their institutions. They were grounded in the faith of their divine ordination, and in faith in themselves as their divinely appointed custodians. The period of oppression was followed by a period in which the patriotic fervor of the Jewish people found intense expression and a magnificent triumph. The result was that Israel was bound closely together. Their common interests were subserved and their unity was illustrated. Thus the nationalist movement became in very deed a "schoolmaster to bring them to Christ." In its highest aspirations the movement was not so far removed from the fundamental thought and purpose of Christ's mission as may be supposed. Though its direction and ex-

pression were in absolute contrast to his own; though they looked for a kingdom of this world, as he did not, and sought to establish it by carnal weapons, while he employed only spiritual ones; nevertheless the fundamental idea—that of a people whose king was God alone, was common both to the Maccabee and to the disciple of Jesus. It is not surprising therefore, that among the twelve apostles one was found who represented the extreme expression of the nationalist idea, Simon Zelotes. The nationalist was intensely jealous for the Lord God of hosts. He felt that no idolater should be permitted to profane by his presence the sacred soil that belonged to the Lord, that no foreign king should exact the tribute which was due to their sole monarch, the Almighty Jehovah. He felt that so much as to countenance such a theory was an act of dire apostasy. With him patriotism and religion were united. He drew his sword to the music of the psalms and his battle-cry was the word of some ancient prophet. His zeal, indeed, needed to be turned into better channels; but his spirit was by no means an unworthy element in the preparation of the Jewish world for Christ. As Paul afterwards intimated, he had "a zeal for God," and though it was not "according to knowledge," the fact that it was "for God" constituted it a mighty, indispensible factor. Like many other elements which we have treated it needed modification and direction, but it was by no means disowned. On the contrary it was divinely ordained to serve the great divine purpose, and was divinely employed to its accomplishment.

Even in the overthrow of the Asmonæans the effects of their great deliverance were not substantially dissipated. They were succeeded by the Herodian family, whose general character may be distinctly inferred from the notices of them which occur in the Gospels. It may not be so clear, however, to the student who has consulted only his New Testament that even in Herod the Great the consolidation of Israel was still more definitely secured, and by the very instrumentality of this profligate and cruel king the way of the Lord prepared.

HEROD THE GREAT.

The ancestors of Herod were Idumæan pagans, descendants of Esau. In the campaigns of the later Maccabees their territory had been annexed to Palestine, and under John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, they had been converted to Judaism. Antipater, the father of Herod, while his son was yet a youth, had been appointed governor of Judæa by Julius Cæsar, and associated him with himself in the government. The young man early displayed very remarkable military qualities, and showed himself capable of dealing even with the most intractable subjects. After the death of his father his own ambitious designs were encouraged by the Romans, more particularly by Antonius, by whom he was advanced from one position to another until he received from the Senate the title of king, and was confirmed in the possession of a larger territory than that which had been included in the dominions of Israel since the days of Solomon. He was the first also to bear this title under the concessions of the im-

perial power and with the full recognition of the nations round about him. Though the Jews hated him and feared him more than any one who had ruled over them since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, yet they respected his authority and were proud of his achievements. They now had a king of their own who was indeed a king, a capable administrator, a great warrior, and devoted to the internal improvement of his kingdom. He also conciliated them by marrying into the Maccabean line, his favorite wife Mariamne being a daughter of Alexander and his cousin Alexandra, and his issue would rule by right inherited from the Asmonæans.

The chief work, of Herod the Great, affecting the restoration of Jewish power and glory, was the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, which, however, inasmuch as it belongs rather to the religious than to the political consolidation of Israel we shall consider further on. The other public works of Herod were both numerous and magnificent. A number of new cities were built under his direction in various parts of the country. The ancient Samaria was reconstructed in magnificent style, receiving the name of Sebaste, the Greek equivalent of the feminine form of the Roman name Augustus, who at that time had come to the Roman throne and continued the patronage of Herod. He also founded Cæsarea, constructing its harbor by the erection of a powerful breakwater which was carried far out into the sea, upon which were erected dwellings for the seamen and in front of which a sort of plaza extended which was used as a pleasure ground. Several other cities were also undertaken by him,

while a large number were embellished by the erection of public buildings, theatres, citadels and the like. He was not content even with this improvement of his own territory, but voluntarily erected in other cities certain architectural works in order to add to the luster of his fame. The Rhodians were furnished with a new Pythian temple. Nicopolis in Greece, near to which the battle of Actium was fought, was provided with certain additions to its public buildings. Antioch was embellished with new colonnades erected along the sides of its principal street. Chios was favored with the rebuilding of its piazza destroyed during the Mithridatic war, and Askelon, Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais and Damascus were also graced with his memorials. Even distant Athens and Lacedemonia received the tokens of his favor.

While all this reflected glory upon the name of the king of Judæa it redounded also to the glory of his subjects. They considered themselves parties to it, and in several places in the New Testament appear the indications of their pride. Thus even through the designs of this ambitious king, Israel was the more closely welded together, so that when the Messiah appeared he came not as to a scattered company of individuals cherishing a common hope, but to one undivided people.

RELIGIOUS CONSOLIDATION.

Coincident with the reawakening of the national hopes under the Maccabees a great literary revival took place in Palestine. This was to have been expected, as such is almost always the case at similar

junctures. The spirit of the people found expression in certain works wherein their past history was reviewed in highly colored language, and in the most glowing terms. The influence was felt indeed throughout all the world wherever the Jewish people were found. Two bodies of literature began to be formed, the first the product of the Greek-speaking Jews, the second the product of those Jews who dwelt in their own country. We have already given attention to the Græco-Jewish literature, and shall now consider only that which proceeded from Judæa, in which those special aspirations were expressed which centered in the chosen land. This Palestinian literature contributed even more largely than the political movements to the consolidation of Israel. Whatever might be the varying success of the Maccabean arms, the Maccabean hope was steadfast. The faithful Israelite never doubted the final issue. His faith rested on the divine promises. He now confessed it before the world in the work of his pen; and thus the sword was sustained—even when the emissaries of his oppressor appeared before the walls of the holy city.

THE CHASIDIM.

We have seen that after the return from the Babylonian captivity the priesthood formed the center of the new Hebrew life, and the high-priest united in himself the government both of the church and of the nation. Very naturally all those among the people who were anxious to keep the commandments of their God inviolate, attached themselves to the priesthood and to the tribe of Levi. Those who exercised special

care in these matters, by abstaining from all forbidden things of the law, by the strict payment of tithes and offerings, by discountenancing intermarriage with the heathen, by the proper regard for the Sabbath and by the regular observance of festival occasions, had come to be known by the name of the *Chasidim*, a word almost equivalent to our English word "saints." In the uprising of the nation under the Maccabees this party of strict Israelites headed the combined revolt against foreign domination and heathen institutions, and succeeded in rousing the whole people to do battle for the ancient land and for the ancient faith. So while they took sword in hand to defend their country they also took pen in hand to defend their faith, and the result, as we have seen, was the complete expulsion of the foreigner, both in rule and worship from Judæan soil. This fact is to be particularly noted since it is said to be the only example of an eastern religion completely emancipating itself in any great section from the influence of that hellenistic culture which was introduced upon the conquests of Alexander the Great.[7] This emancipation from heathenism in all its forms was one of the greatest elements in the formal preparation of the world for the Redeemer.

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD.

Palestinian literature began to appear about the year 170 B. C., and continued to be produced until some years after the death of Christ. Among the works which belong to it may be mentioned the First Book of Maccabees; the Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach;

(7) Schurer I; I: 199.

the books of Judith, of Tophet and of Enoch; the Assumption of Moses; the Book of Jubilees, and certain others. The reader of the New Testament will remember that one of the canonical books quotes from two of the books which we have mentioned.[8] These works furnished the food upon which the heroes of that period were made strong to do valiantly in behalf of their God and country. They represent the continuance of the hope of Israel, though in a modified form (as we shall presently consider), and they present to us the pious sons of Judæa dwelling with rapt anticipation upon the promises of God, which these books recalled and the immense possibilities which they suggested.

The chief feature of all these works is the ever-present Messianic expectation. It is true that this expectation was not exactly that of the inspired prophets of Israel.[9] The ancient promises, had been misinterpreted through the selfish ambitions of the later Jews; the prophecies of the canonical Scriptures had been modified by the nationalist expectations. The Messianic future which is portrayed is not one in which all the nations of the earth are to be blessed, but one in which Judæa and the Jewish people are to be the sole recipients of special divine favor. The Messianic hope has thus lost the broad and generous character which distinguishes it in the ancient prophecies and has been transformed into a mere Jewish hope. Nevertheless, the central figure at all times is the coming Messiah and the kingdom which he is to found

(8) The Epistle of Jude, 9, 14, 15.

(9) See *Prophecy and History*, Edersheim, pp. 314, 318.

upon earth, and thereby the way of that Messiah is prepared.

The most extravagant notions are encouraged in all of these books. Palestine is to be blessed beyond all other nations. Its crops are to be bountiful, its cities resplendent, its people prosperous and happy. Wheat should grow in Palestine to the height of palm trees. The walls of Jerusalem should be garnished with gold and jewels, and every Israelite should have the desire of his heart without labor and without molestation. The new Jerusalem would be as wide as all Palestine, the boundaries of Palestine being proportionately extended, and the holy city should be the mistress of all the world. Even the wild beasts should relinquish their cruel natures and carniverous animals become herbivorous. The reader will observe that much of this is a mere literal translation of the spiritual hopes set forth by the ancient prophets but carried to the most undue extremes. A single quotation from Tobit's prayer of rejoicing will be sufficient to illustrate the whole.(10)

"Give praise to the Lord, for he is good: and praise the everlasting king, that his tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy, and let him make joyful there in thee those that are captives, and love in thee forever those that are miserable.

Many nations shall come from far to the name of the Lord God with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of heaven; all generations shall praise thee with great joy. Cursed are all they which hate thee, and blessed shall all be which love thee forever. Rejoice and be glad for the children of the just: for they shall be gathered together, and shall bless the Lord of the just. Oh blessed are they which love thee, for they shall rejoice in thy peace. Blessed are they which have been sorrowful for

(10) Tobit xiii: 16–18.

all thy scourges; for they shall rejoice for thee, when they have seen all thy glory, and shall be glad for thee. Let my soul bless God the great King. For Jerusalem shall be built up with sapphires, and emeralds and precious stones: thy wall, and towers, and battlements, with pure gold. And the streets of Jerusalem shall be paved with beryl, and carbuncle, and stones of Ophir. And all her streets shall say Alleluia! and they shall praise him, saying, Blessed be God, which hath extolled it forever."

SCRIBES: RABBIS.

In connection with the publication of this literature the entire religious condition of Israel experienced a new development. This is more particularly marked in those elements that gather about the temple and the law, beginning with the Scribes.[11] The revival of interest in the law naturally involved the necessity of its deeper study and of a larger professional acquaintance with its meaning. We have seen in a previous chapter that the development of scribism dates back, as did all the peculiar movements which are associated with it, to the Babylonian captivity. But in this as in every other respect a new and peculiar impulse was received in consequence of the Maccabean successes. The scribes who appeared in the times of Ezra were now multiplied. Their studies became the more intense and their influence over the people increased in consequence. From this time onwards they were the real teachers of the people and bore complete sway over their spiritual life. They formed a distinct class, compact and in the main harmonious. They gave themselves to the study of the Scripture with greater painstaking than any body of scholars

(11) See Schurer II; I: 313.

which Israel ever produced. In fact Israel had never produced a class who could be strictly called "scholars" until the times of the Maccabees. The incursion of Grecian philosophy also played a very considerable part in its development, for the increase of hellenistic thought obliged the Jewish scholars to defend their own peculiar theory from Gentile attack.

The learning and individual eminence of the members of this class gave to them a certain name, *Rab*,[12] Chaldæan in its origin, which appears in composition in certain names found in the Old Testament, as, for example, Rab-Mag ("Head of the Magi,") an officer of Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in the book of Jeremiah.[13] This word was at first employed as an address and came later to be used as a title, the word being adopted into the Hebrew language and thence into the Greek, appearing in English as our word *Rabbi*. These Rabbis of the New Testament were the spiritual leaders of the people. They soon came to require from their pupils the most absolute reverence, inasmuch as they represented the law of their heavenly King. This was upon the ground that the greater included the less. The teacher should be respected rather than the father, for both father and son owed him reverence. His father brought him into the life of this world; his teacher, by the inculcation of divine wisdom, brought him into life of the world to come. If his father and his teacher should both be led into captivity it would become the duty of the pupil to seek the release of his teacher first and his father afterwards. Thus as it appears from certain passages in the New

(12) Stanley III: 497. (13) Jeremiah xxxix: 3.

Testament, the Rabbis everywhere claimed the first place and the chief honor. They "loved the uppermost rooms at feasts and the chief seats in the synagogues."

The labors of these scribes were gratuitous. Ordinarily they supported themselves by some trade and gave themselves to the teaching of the law in the intervals of their labor. This fact served the still more to increase their reputation and their influence, though it must not be supposed that they did not willingly receive that which their pupils voluntarily offered, oftentimes amounting to considerable sums. Though serving gratuitously they came ere long to serve with the expectation of a reward, and covetousness grew to be one of their characteristics

HILLEL.

The leaders of the scribes usually appear in couples, and so in the age immediately preceding Christ we come upon the names of Hillel and Shammai.[14] Hillel was the most distinguished teacher of Israel since the days of Ezra. He was born at Babylon B. C. 75, and came to Jerusalem when he was about 40 years of age. He was soon chosen president of the Sanhedrin and held the office for 40 years. His scholars were numbered by the thousands and his influence upon the people of his day was correspondingly great. In character he was mild and gentle, generous and self-sacrificing, and in all his precepts inculcated the purest and strictest morality. Though oftentimes occupied, as were the Rabbis of his age, with trifling disputes concerning the

[14] See Edersheim's *Messiah*, Vol. I; Book II, ch. ii.

more minute matters of the law, he nevertheless served to direct the attention of the people to those things which concerned their spiritual life, and thereby prepared them to receive the loftier teaching of the Messiah. One of his most distinguished pupils was Gamaliel, his own grandson, whose pupil in turn was the apostle Paul, and thus we are able to trace directly the succession in which in the marvelous intervention of Providence the knowledge of the law and of the hope of Israel was communicated to the Gentile world.

PHARISEES: SADDUCEES.

In connection with the development of scribism the development of Pharisaism is to be considered. The Scribes and Pharisees belong to the same great party. Their interests were identical. By many persons of our own age the Pharisees are regarded only as a covetous, hypocritical and immoral set of men who gave themselves to the mere study of the law of God with no idea of obeying its spiritual requirements. Such indeed to a great extent was their character in the time of Christ, and yet to suppose that such was their character during the entire period of their existence is to do them a gross injustice. The period in which Christ appeared was their degenerate age, and we may safely say that there has scarcely appeared upon earth a set of men with nobler resolves and purer intentions than those of the Pharisees in their early generations. They were the lineal successors of the Chasidim or pious ones, whose particular development dates back to the year B. C. 170.

The word Pharisee means "a separated one." At

first it had no party signification; but it soon became the standing appellation of those who had separated themselves to the service of God as the conservators of their ancestral religion. After a time when the priestly power passed into the hands of the Sadducees, the Pharisees appeared as their most bitter opponents and succeeded in holding the mass of the people firm in the spiritual faith of their fathers against the materialistic tendencies of those who believed in no spirit, no resurrection, no immortal soul and no hereafter. Thus while they interpreted the law and the Messianic prophecies in the most literal manner they prepared the way for their fulfillment. They gathered a body of adherents devoted to the study of the Scriptures, to the keeping of the commandments and to the governing ideal of the Jewish faith, and from this body almost all the disciples of the Lord were recruited. Even those who rejected him were not always arrayed against him, but more than once defended him and his disciples from their more bitter enemies.[15]

The student should be careful not to be led astray at this point. While it is plain, from the account of the Evangelists that Jesus denounced the Pharisees for their many errors, and that the Pharisees plotted his destruction; yet it must not be inferred that they offered the most violent or effective opposition. The Sadduceean party was more emphatically the persecuting party; as distinctly appears in the Acts of the Apostles. The aristocracy was Sadduceean. The high priests were Sadducees, and so were the majority of the lower order. The Sadducees were the politicians and office-

(15) See John vii: 50; Acts v: 34; xxii: 9.

seekers of the nation, and though in the minority, they held the combined power of wealth and station. They espoused the cause of hellenism, promoted Greek culture and even encouraged Antiochus Epiphanes in his violent attemps to destroy the traditional customs of their country. In the patriotic uprising under the earlier Maccabees they were stripped of their honors and relegated to obscurity, but by and by they worked themselves again to the front and became under John Hyrcanus the ruling caste.

After this they held the supreme power, with a single slight intermission until the time of Christ; even making common cause with Herod the Great and being known as the Herodians.(16) It was only the fear of the people which prevented them from denationalizing the Jewish nation and reducing its divine religion to a mere code of morals, without spirituality and without hope.

The penal theories of the Sadducees were much more severe than those of the Pharisees, as is usually the case with aristocratic classes Consequently they opposed the gospel with a cold austerity, which knew neither mercy for the accused nor sympathy for his doctrines. A Sadduceean high-priest sentenced the Redeemer, a Sadduceean king mocked and insulted him, a Sadduceean council delivered him to the Roman governor and demanded his crucifixion. Had the rulers of the Jews been Pharisees exclusively, history might have been very differently written. As it was Pharisaism—with all its hypocrisy, had much to do in preparing the way of the Redeemer. Sadducee-

(16) Matt. xxii: 16, *et al.*

ism prepared for him only a crown of thorns and a cross!

THE SANHEDRIN.

According to the most ancient Jewish tradition the high court of the Jews, known as the Sanhedrin was instituted by Moses at the command of God when he appointed the seventy elders, with whom he sat as their president. The Jews considered that this court was continued during all of the Israelitish history though it cannot be traced in the Scripture. The name Sanhedrin, which is a Greek word, points to the fact that this "synod" originated during the Macedonian supremacy in Palestine. Josephus does not mention it before the conquest of Judæa by Pompey. Under John Hyrcanus however there was just such a judicial body, known at the time as the "House of Judgment." This house was dissolved after a time in consequence of the unworthy high-priests who arose during the Maccabean struggle, but it was reconstructed after the overthrow of the Syrians when the independence of the people had been secured. The power of this body and the influence which it exerted in the unification of the people is apparent to the reader of the New Testament. It *was* the people. Their wisest and best representatives—according to the standard of the age, were its members. It interpreted the law, tried offenders, directed the policy and controlled the destiny of the nation. The Jewish state was herein focalized. It was the embodiment of the faith, the sentiment and the aims of the nation—the nation itself in epitome. It was thus the supreme illustration of the actual consolidation of Israel.

This religious consolidation which we have now surveyed found its supreme outward expression in the magnificent house of worship erected by Herod the Great. After spending two years in preparation he proceeded to pull down the old edifice which dated back to Zerubbabel, and began the erection of the new one. This was just forty-six years before the first passover of Christ's personal ministry, at which time the Jews told him "forty and six years was this temple in building." The original, however, implies that it was not yet completed, as indeed it was not, for it was never really finished.

Owing to the reverence which the Jews felt for the ancient structure so happily associated with their return from Babylon, and also to the superstitious feelings of Herod himself, this temple was supposed to be only the repairing of the old one. The worship was never interrupted though the building was absolutely transformed.[17] The work was invested with a religious character from the first. Many of the workmen were priests, others were disguised in priestly garments, and the sanctity of the undertaking took possession of the entire national mind. The more important parts of the structure connected with the inner sanctuary were finished in eighteen months, when it was dedicated by Herod with great pomp. Three hundred oxen were sacrificed by the king himself and many more were offered by others. The building as it stood in the days of Christ was a magnificent structure, so resplendent with ornamentation of every kind that it was said by the Jews "He

(17) See Prideaux, *Connections* II: p. 394.

who has not seen the building of Herod has never seen a beautiful thing."

This reconstructed house of worship was intended by divine providence to be the scene of the most important utterances of the Saviour. He used it as the figure of his own body and by his significant remark concerning its destruction brought upon him the wrath and envy of the Jews. Here he was accustomed to teach the people upon his visits to Jerusalem, and here he solemnly offered himself to them on his last appearance at the passover as their Messiah King. He wept over its coming destruction and took leave of it in the saddest words that ever fell from the lips of man, "Behold your house is left unto you desolate."

The Apostles after him continued to teach within its sacred enclosure. Here they performed that great miracle[18] which drew the attention of all Israel to themselves and to the risen Redeemer of whom they were the representatives. Here they too were rejected and then, at last, the purpose of God being fully served, the stately building was destroyed and the doom of Israel accomplished.

JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Thus the way of the Lord was prepared. And now in the days of that same Herod the King whose remarkable building work we have considered, while the scepter had not as yet departed from Judah nor a law-giver from between his feet, while the hopes of the people were raised to the highest possible pitch and while they were in daily expectancy of one who should appear to

(18) Acts iii.

lead them successfully against their foreign foes and rebuild their city with the utmost magnificence, there came one in the wilderness of Judæa clad in the rough garb of an ancient prophet and proclaiming in a tone of utmost authority "Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make his paths straight." Under the singular providence of God events, sometimes untoward, and agents, sometimes unworthy, had so shaped themselves as that all things were ready, and now comes one whom all men recognize as a prophet, declaring that the kingdom of heaven is at hand; that the Messiah is about to appear. At first he received the most enthusiastic welcome. The nation flocked to him as one man; great numbers received his baptism and stood thenceforth waiting for the consolation of Israel, and thus a people was prepared for the Lord. The foregoing events were not without great and legitimate consequences. The hearts of the fathers were turned to the children and those of the children to the fathers, and multitudes realized the hope of Israel. But though the Jewish rulers rejected John as they afterwards rejected Christ; though they took them both and by wicked hands slew them—the first by the order of the king of the Jews, the second by the order of the Roman governor, yet, we can plainly see that it was all done "by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God" that the hope of Israel might become the hope of all nations.

Part IV.

The Kingdom of Heaven at Hand.

"The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe the Gospel." —*Mark* i: 15.

Chapter XIII: The Despair of Heathenism.

Chapter XIV: The World Lying in Wickedness.

Chapter XV: The Fullness of Time.

Chapter XVI: Jesus and the Resurrection.

Chapter XI.

THE DESPAIR OF HEATHENISM.

One of the very remarkable peculiarities of the sacred writers is their ability to characterize in a few words the condition of their age. No other authors are more concise, and none are so exact. We find in the New Testament many illustrations of this peculiarity—the condition of the world at the time of the appearance of the Redeemer being vividly set before us in the terse but graphic descriptions of the apostles. An example occurs in the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, wherein, writing to the citizens of the most important place in Asia Minor, the Apostle, in a single sentence, depicts their religious condition: "At that time ye were without Christ; * * * having no hope and without God in the world."[1]

SOURCES.

We shall endeavor to exhibit in the present chapter the growth of this hopeless godlessness, of which the Apostle speaks, and to connect it with the great intellectual revolution under Socrates, and with the unification of the world under the Roman empire. It had its roots in each. It was the outgrowth of the liberal policy of Rome; it began to be especially manifested after the subjugation of Greece, and it was the result of the reciprocal influence of the two peoples.

(1) Eph. ii: 12.

The civilizations of Greece and Rome, although diverse from each other in many particulars, were nevertheless derived from a common origin and were, therefore, easily amalgamated. But the effect of the amalgamation was similar to that which often appears in the fusion of races—the resultant was a degenerate reflection of both originals, in which much was lost. The Roman maintained his courage and determination, but lost his primitive simplicity. The Greek maintained his taste and much of his intellectual power, but lost his independence of character. The Roman became luxurious and corrupt; the Greek became servile and abject. But while Greece suffered the humiliation of defeat, she undertook to rule her conqueror in the capacity of an intelligent slave by ministering to his passions; but while thus demeaning herself she was unable to rise from her condition of bondage. Greece became the immediate source of Roman frivolity. She furnished cooks, buffoons and parasites of every class to her royal master, and her very philosophers taught him to dignify pleasure as a veritable virtue, and gratify his palate as a pursuit worthy the attention of a great and noble soul.[2]

The results finally appeared in the disintegration of morals, and the dissolution of faith.

Let us trace the progress of the decline.

ROMAN LIBERALITY.

We have observed that when the Romans began their career of conquest they did not seek to impose their forms of faith on the conquered nations, nor to

[2] *History of the Romans Under the Empire;* Merivale, ch. xxii.

interfere with their religious beliefs and practices. This spirit of toleration was the outgrowth of their polytheism. A nation which already worships a multitude of gods is not disposed to resist the addition of a few more to their number. In this respect polytheism has always been distinguished from monotheism. The monotheist of necessity regards all gods except his own as false, and considers it his duty to repudiate them. If his faith be fervent, he can scarcely suffer the presence of those who worship them. Jewish exclusiveness was thus derived from the fundamental principle of the Jewish religion, which, while it did not require bigotry on the part of its adherents, certainly did require that they hold themselves aloof from all those who transgressed their first commandment, "*Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.*" For similar reasons the Persians destroyed the idols of Babylonia together with their worshippers, while they favored the Jews who rejected the worship of images. The same spirit was displayed from the first by the Saracen conquerors and is exhibited in the Mohammedan of the present day. The polytheist, upon the other hand, readily acknowledged gods everywhere, even those that were not his own. No god could be strange to him. The divinities of another people were entitled to as much veneration as those which he himself had been taught to worship. Indeed, he was inclined to behold in the gods of the stranger the same gods as his own, though disguised by unfamiliar names and honored in unfamiliar ceremonies. So it readily came about, when the Roman was brought into intimate connection with the Greek, that he looked upon the

gods of Olympus as identical with his own. Indeed, they are thus identified in the minds of most modern readers. So to the conquering Roman, Zeus was the same as Jupiter, Here as Juno, and so on throughout the catalogue. As the Roman extended his career of conquest to the north, east and the south, he nowhere found the deities alien to his mind. He recognized in them his native gods, and that with scarcely an effort of the mind. He became a "worshiper of all divinities." It was not only his policy, but his very nature, to tolerate all religions. He did even more than this. Upon the conquest of any province or state its gods were invited in solemn formula to take up their abode in Rome, and the conqueror promised, if this were done, to build them temples, to offer them sacrifices and to give costly games in their honor.[3]

The explanation of this custom is found in that common theory of polytheism, that every separate race and place had their own peculiar divinities, who were accustomed to aid them in battle and provide for them in peace. It therefore became the part of political sagacity to invite these gods to the Roman capital that their assistance might be invoked in the prosecution of Roman conquests. Meanwhile, to prevent the adoption of a similar policy on the part of their enemies, the Romans were accustomed, more particularly in early times, to keep the names of their own gods secret.

The Roman divinities were in this way multiplied with the same rapidity as the Roman conquests. While at first the number of gods whom the Romans adored

[3] *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism;* Ulhorn, p. 37.

was comparatively small, after a time it was indefinitely increased. The rites of worship also which were introduced in connection with these gods, became exceedingly complex, and the original Roman religion, both in the objects of its homage and their attendant ceremonies, experienced a vast expansion which was certain to produce in time an effect entirely the reverse of that which was contemplated.

The most serious effects, however, followed the amalgamation of Greek and Roman. Rome had been early brought into intercourse with the Greek civilization and religion in the Greek colonies of Southern Italy. Before the foundation of the Republic the Sibylline books had been introduced into Rome from Cumæ and the worship of Apollo formally adopted.(4) Foreign influences were therefore felt in Rome before the subjugation of Greece, and certain of her gods had already received honors second only to those which they paid to the Romans' own. But the fusion went on at a much more rapid rate after the conquest of Greece. The Romans received only the shell of the old Greek religion, and abandoned the simplicity of their primitive institutions to receive nothing in return. They caught the spirit of the Greek in its most skeptical age, when its religion was a matter of externals only, saturated with an intense secular and worldly spirit. The gods multiplied; their increase fostered an excessive growth of superstition; superstition produced outspoken skepticism, and skepticism in turn passed into the atheistic despair of which the apostle speaks in his epistle to the Ephesians. We note now the particular steps.

(4) *History of Rome;* Mommsen, I, 239.

GROWTH OF SUPERSTITION.

The apostle Paul began his address to the Athenians by remarking, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious." He unquestionably referred to the multiplicity of the altars and statues of their gods. A survey of the religious life of the entire Roman Empire must produce the same impression. The gods and goddesses had become an innumerable host; the temples and holy places were fairly countless; the world was full of divinities. Petronius makes a woman from the country district adjoining Rome declare that it was easier to find a god in her neighborhood than a man. Where there were not temples or altars there were at least sacred trees, sacred stones, sacred rocks, which it was supposed the deities frequented, which were therefore decorated with garlands, and which no one passed without exhibiting some sign of veneration. The entire life was saturated with religion, and the whole time given to its exercises, even when the mind was occupied with other subjects. At every important public transaction the gods were consulted; every assembly of the people was opened with sacrifice or prayer. Even private life had its continual religious exercises, and each event was celebrated with appropriate religious services. There were appropriate gods or goddesses who watched over every stage of life; who presided at the birth of the child; were invoked on the ninth day when its name was given; cared for its food and drink; protected it when it took its first step; taught it to creep, to stand, to walk, to lisp, to talk; and so on in each successive period of its life. There were particular gods for every

portion of its dwelling—the door, the threshold of the door, and even the hinges of the door. There was a special god for each different class—even the most menial and the most immoral; and a special divinity for those who were afflicted in a peculiar manner, such as the childless, the maimed or the blind. There was the god of the stable, and the goddess of the horses; there were gods for merchants, artists, poets and tillers of the soil. The gods must be invoked before the harvest could be reaped; and not even a tree could be felled in the forest without supplicating the unknown god who might inhabit it. Gods were also invoked in the prosecution of criminal practices, and their worship was used as a pretext for indulgence in the most outrageous vices. Although the government was aware of the evils which were thus propagated among the people, it scarcely ventured to prohibit the idolatrous practices by which they were promoted. Even the orgies of the Bacchanalia might be indulged by those who stated that it was a matter of conscience with them, and who, upon this ground, could obtain the permission of the prætor for their observance.

The same spirit of toleration permitted the introduction into Rome of all the immoral ceremonies which were connected with the religion of foreigners. At first the state did not permit the observance of any foreign rites without a special decree; but the efforts of the government to suppress them were not long effectual. The forbidden worships continued to find more and more adherents, until, in the times of the Empire they had not only ceased to be forbidden, but, as the people began to lose faith in their own gods,

they eagerly sought relief in the worship of the foreign divinities. Roman emperors themselves built sanctuaries for Isis and Serapis side by side with the temples of Jupiter and Vesta. Roman ladies of the best families took part in the processions of Isis, and watched out the long night in her temple, to obtain expiation for their frivolous lives. The result was a religious chaos unparalleled in history. The gods had multiplied to such an extent that they lost caste and character; and in the extension of the forms of religion, religion itself was dissolved. The day of satisfaction and of certitude was rapidly passing. Men sought for new gods in the vain hope of finding that which they had been unable to obtain in the faith of the old ones. Those who came with some claim to be "setters forth of strange gods" were sure of an audience and often spoke, as Paul at Athens, by invitation.[5] The greater the distance from which the god was brought, the more ancient and mysterious his worship, the better; the higher were their hopes excited.

All this could have but a single ending; but, as yet, there were no outward signs of the final desolation. On the contrary there was every visible indication of power and permanence in the external splendor of the Roman idolatry. The temples were furnished with great magnificence and were visited by thousands. The religious feasts and sacrifices were celebrated with the greatest pomp. There were many suppliants before the altar, and many inquiries at the oracles. Heathenism was not yet ready to give up the ghost, but was assured of a tenacious life for several centuries yet to

[5] Acts, xvii: 19.

come. Even in the demoralization which the more increased the more the gods were multiplied, there was an adherence to the forms of religion. They were supported by the usages of centuries, and interwoven with all the traditions of the family and of the nation; so that even though faith in them may have been sadly shattered, the people could not readily cut loose from established customs. At the same time, however, while the evidences of decline were not externally displayed, the ancient enthusiasm had manifestly disappeared. There were still devout souls, according to the pagan standards, who with some show of fervor frequented the temples to offer their sacrifices and repeat their prayers, but the days had gone forever by in which great statesmen like Pericles led the religious processions to the Parthenon, or great generals of the Roman republic brought their thank-offerings to Jupiter of the Capitol. Religion was sustained by custom; not by faith. It was observed in calm deliberation, and business-like calculation. It was the cold disinclination to overturn the customs which had obtained from the days of the fathers, lest in the overturning of the national faith, the nation itself should be overturned.

Take as a single illustration of the condition of the age the fact that in the reign of Augustus there could no longer be found, among free Roman families, any virgins who were willing to become Vestals, and it became necessary not only to resort to freed persons, but to increase the privileges of the class in order to recruit its numbers. This is the more significant when we remember the nature and meaning of the Vestal ceremonies. In them the Roman community was regarded

as a great family, and Vesta was the embodiment of all the Penates of the various households. Six chaste virgins were chosen from the best families to maintain upon the common hearth a fire which should never be permitted to go out, as an example and warning to every family in the nation. This worship, thus semi-domestic and semi-public, was the most sacred in the Roman religion and was the last to succumb before the advance of Christianity.[6] We may therefore perceive how ill was the omen when the best families of Rome had no more daughters to give to this holiest of all callings. It meant two things, each of terrible import—that *faith* was undermined and that *purity* had disappeared; nay, more; that the very daughters of Rome were willing to surrender both together.

Such was the condition which we now survey. Skepticism had resulted as the natural revolt against the multiplication of divinities and the superstition which was thus engendered. The spirit of the age was voiced in the words of Seneca in his tract *Against Superstition*: "All that ignoble crowd of gods which the superstition of the ages has collected we will adore in such a way as to remember that its worship belongs rather to usage than reality. The wise man will unite in all these observances as commanded by the laws, not as pleasing to the gods."

SKEPTICISM.

The early Romans endeavored to occupy the middle ground between superstition and impiety, and to guard as carefully against one as against the other. In the

[7] See *History of Rome;* Mommsen, I, 227.

early days, worship was purely external. *Ceremoniæ Romanæ* was the expressive name of the Roman religion.[7] It was devoid of imagination; it made no appeal to the feeling; and the true Roman, in consequence, had a profound dread of all excess in religious matters. In the observance of the prescribed ceremonies he was excessively punctilious, even when he was entirely unconcerned as to the attitude of his heart. The "pious" man was the one who knew the ritual the best and the most carefully observed it; who was anxious to worship each of his gods in proper order and to be in debt to none of them.

It is not strange, therefore, that when the divinities which were imported from other nations became so numerous that no one could possibly keep track of them, and when the ceremonies which were connected with their worship appealed so largely to the fancy and ministered so largely to the feelings, that ancient custom was seriously transgressed, the representative Roman recalled the days of his fathers, bestirred himself with patriotic zeal in behalf of primitive institutions, and rebelled against the colossal superstition.

At first a compromise was attempted. The effort was made by certain philosophers for a time to combine in one general system the apparently discordant creeds of heathenism, and to create a sort of Pagan universalism, in which the elements of all religions might be blended.[8] But the effort proved futile. It was only one of the signs of the times indicating the uncertainty and the unrest of that distracted period. Old beliefs

(7) Mommsen, I, 233.

(8) *Beginnings of Christianity;* Fisher, p. 72.

were dissolved, and in the presence of so many which had been tried and found wanting no belief could be accepted. The hope that there might be found among them some single religion acceptable to all mankind was regarded as the dream of the wildest visionary. If any one indulged in it he was supposed to be an ignoramus, who knew nothing of the many religious systems which had come into mutual conflict. The careful thinkers of the age regarded the expectation as utterly chimerical; and it certainly was so, if the universal religion was to be found among any of those which heathenism had produced, or if it were to be created out of the materials of a dying polytheism. The only practical result which the multiplicity of gods and of religious notions had produced was a deep and incurable skepticism which the wisest men of the age were glad to confess, rather than to be considered as adhering in any degree to the mutually contradictory forms of the current faith. Polybius, the Greek historian, who passed many years in Rome and who died 122 B. C., regarded religion simply as the pillar of the state, a necessary means to political ends, inasmuch as it held the multitude in check by its terrifying fictions. So early had skepticism laid hold of the thinking mind.[9] Cicero says:

"I thought I should be doing an immense benefit both to myself and to my countrymen if I could entirely eradicate all superstitious errors. Nor is there any fear that true religion can be endangered by the demolition of this superstition; for as this religion which is united with the knowledge of nature is to be propagated, so, also, are all the roots of superstition to be destroyed; for that presses upon and pursues and persecutes you wherever you

[9] Introduction to Neander's *Church History*.

turn yourself, whether you consult a diviner or have heard an omen or have immolated a victim, or beheld a flight of birds; whether you have seen a Chaldæan or a soothsayer; if it lightens or thunders, or if anything is struck by lightning; if any kind of a prodigy occurs; some of which things must be frequently coming to pass, so that you can never rise with a tranquil mind."

Varro, the contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, did not scruple to comment upon the unworthy and absurd character of the myths and legends of the popular faith. Such men looked upon them as a political necessity, and defended them only as a pious fraud, in which it was necessary to indulge the multitude in order to the stability of the existing order of things.

The revolt against superstition, however, and the skepticism and neglect of religion which ensued, became so general that the effort was made, beginning with the emperor Augustus, to restore the observance of religion by means of the civil power. From the time that the authority of Augustus was established he set himself, from political motives, to restore the disused altars, believing this to be the surest means to confirm his own power and to give coherence to his system of government. Although he was an unbeliever himself, he ostentatiously displayed on all occasions his respect for the faith of the people. He rebuilt the temples and restored the ancient customs. Even as consul he caused eighty-six temples to be rebuilt.[10] At the same time, also, he instituted new modes of worship, which were only in truth the reproduction of the old under new names. He caused this restoration of religion to be observed with great splendor, accompanied by the repetition of those secular

(10) *Ancient World and Christianity;* De Pressense, p. 422.

games which had been instituted under the Republic, in order to avert, by means of the special ceremonials which were connected with them, the threatened visitation of the plague. He attempted to compel others to honor the gods after his own external example.

But the corpse could not be galvanized into life. The vast majority of Roman statesmen and Roman scholars were total disbelievers in the mythical divinities of the people and in the fables which related to them. They confessed their ignorance with regard to God, or, indeed, if there were a God at all. They had no definite notions with regard to immortality, and did not hesitate to express their doubts with regard to any future life. Julius Cæsar himself, when the Roman Senate debated the question how Catiline should be punished, opposed the infliction of capital punishment upon the ground that death would put an end to pain, and that therefore it would not be sufficient penalty. Even those who acknowledged the existence of God stripped him of every personal attribute. The elder Pliny, in a chapter upon the subject of God in his Natural History, says: "Whatever God be, if there be any other god (than the world), and wherever he exists, he is all sense, all sight, all hearing, all life, all mind, and all within himself." He declared the folly[11] of believing in gods who were personified virtues or vices, with their marriages, quarrels and crimes. He held that the deification of men was the best sort of worship. He declared it ridiculous to suppose that the great head of all things paid any regard to human affairs; that it would be "polluted by such a disagree-

[11] Nat. His. II, 5.

able and complicated office." Cato and Cæsar openly acknowledged their skepticism in the Senate. Lucretius pursued every form of religious faith vindictively. He regarded each as a gigantic spectre trampling the human race with heavy feet, and looking down from on high with a menacing aspect, which it was the business of men to defy. He regarded the gods as the mere offspring of fear, and the universe as a result of chance. The comfortless conclusion of the vast majority of Roman scholars is stated by Pliny in the most heartless unconcern when he says: "There is nothing certain save that nothing is certain, and there is no more wretched and yet arrogant being than man. The best thing which has been given to man amid the many torments of this life is that he can take his own life!"

It would not be safe to assume that this skepticism was absolutely universal, nor that all the thinking men of that age were atheists. While we meet with fanatics like Lucretius, unbelievers like Pliny, and conscientious doubters like Cæsar and Cicero; we meet with some, also, who made the effort to hold fast to the old faith. Such an one was Tacitus, whose faith in the gods seems to have been but little shaken; and Plutarch, who, in his own pagan way, was a pious and believing man. But such exceptions are very rare, and serve only to make the general hopelessness and disbelief of that despairing age the more conspicuous.

CONNECTION WITH GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

We have observed in the chapter upon the Great Intellectual Revolution that the peculiar work of

Socrates consisted in diverting the attention of men from that which was without to that which was within them, and in encouraging them, as far as possible, to "know themselves." The skepticism of the age, which we are now considering, had been brought about very largely in consequence of the revolution in the methods of thought which Socrates had introduced. When Socrates directed the attention of men to the condition of their own souls, sin could no longer be veiled, as it was in the age which preceded him. Thenceforth it was impossible for the soul to answer the question, "How shall I obtain peace?" without having respect to its own sinfulness.

We have also observed, in connection with the influence of Socrates, that he would have no trifling with the problems of human life and the interests of the human soul; that while he inculcated a hope of immortality, he taught that if there were indeed a future for the human soul, it could not possibly be a blessed one if that soul were contaminated with sinful passions; and that by such means he gave to the human conscience a place of supreme importance. The effects of his teaching remained; but inasmuch as deliverance from sin could not be found in connection with the observance of any heathen rite, no matter from what quarter it might be obtained, peace of conscience was still as far removed as ever. It followed, therefore, that the influence of the Socratic philosophy brought about in time the very skepticism which he himself sought to avoid. The world was made aware of its sin and was ready to confess it; *but how should the world be rid of it?* Seneca discourses concerning

it in words which remind us of certain passages in the writings of St. Paul: "We have all sinned; some grievously, others more lightly; some purposely, others accidentally impelled or led astray. And not only have we transgressed, but we shall continue to do so until the end of life." The human conscience was awake; its power was manifested in numerous examples. It was felt that the punishment of evil-doers was sure, even though the rewards of the righteous might be uncertain; and it was felt that the conscience itself possessed the power of punishing its own possessor.

"We talk," says Cicero, "as if all the miseries of man were comprehended in death, pain of body, sorrow of mind or judicial punishment, which I grant are calamitous accidents that have befallen many good men; but the sting of conscience, the remorse of guilt, is in itself the greatest evil, even exclusive of the external punishments that attend it."(12)

But the world under the power of this influence, which began with the Socratic philosophy, had reached a state which may be described only in the word, *terrible*. There was the consciousness of sin, and the foreseen punishment of the guilty. But there was also the admitted inadequacy of all existing religions to help the sinner. There was, therefore, no apparent way of escape. Dualism, the intolerable blemish upon the Socratic philosophy, still remained. It was felt that evil would never pass away, but that it would continue forever to antagonize the good. Here was the great problem which ancient philosophy was never able to resolve, and which could not be settled until the light of the Gospel should be shed upon it. All the ancient systems made shipwreck upon the same rock,

(12) De Legibus, II, 10.

even though they did not do so after the same manner; and they were bound to continue to do so until that Pilot should appear who alone knew the channel by which they might be guided safely into the harbor.

REVOLT.

It could scarcely be expected, therefore, that men would be content to accept the ethics of the Socratic philosophy when its philosophical conclusions brought no certainty to their minds and gave no stability to their hopes. A generation had scarcely elapsed after the death of Socrates before the rise of two great schools of philosophy whose adherents at the birth of Christ numbered many more than all the disciples of Socrates which remained.

In consequence of the teachings of Socrates and Plato, Greece was brought into that condition where she knew both too little and too much. She knew too little to worship the Unknown God, who had not yet been revealed to her; she knew too much to believe in any other. The position which she had reached in Socrates and his great disciple could not, therefore, be maintained, and a period of decadence succeeded. The followers of Aristotle eliminated the idea of God from their philosophy and asserted that no divinity was needed to explain the formation of the world. A skeptical school arose which wore a smile upon its face to conceal the bitterness which it carried in its heart. It pretended to expose the deceptions of the philosophers which preceded it, but in reality it trampled under foot everything that was high and holy. Its adherents followed the example of the Sophists who

had preceded Socrates, in setting one philosopher against another—opposing Aristotle to Plato and Plato to Aristotle; and it was their pleasure to see these two illustrious thinkers transfix each other with their own darts and carry with them in their downfall the philosophy of which they were the exponents. They taught that men might cease to trouble themselves with regard to such questions and subside into a dignified "apathy" (ἀταραξία).

EPICUREAN AND STOIC.

Out of this movement grew the Epicurean and Stoic schools of philosophy. Stoicism begins with Zeno of Citium, who was born 358 B. C. Epicureanism begins with Epicurus, born 342 B. C. In the days of decadence, which had now arrived, the philosophy of both these schools threw man back into himself, and was occupied simply with the question of individual happiness. They met their common end in that abject pessimism, in which the forlorn hope of false philosophy reached its last ditch. The Stoic, out of his pessimism, set before himself as his proud ideal, an austere apathy and a magnanimous self-denial.[13] He would be untouched by passion, unmoved by pain, indifferent to pleasure and undisturbed by any change of circumstances. In this way alone he expected to defeat the forces of sorrow and disappointment which beset his soul. To him pleasure was no good and pain no evil. He schooled himself to be untouched by either. He aimed to be sufficient unto himself.

The Epicurean, out of his pessimism, cultivated the

(13) *Greek Philosophy;* Zeller, § 71.

art of making himself happy.[14] His first principle was that suffering of all kinds was to be avoided and happiness sought in pleasure; and his only guide in the choice of the latter was the means of escaping the former. On this ground virtue was desirable; moderation should be practiced and an injury should not be done to another lest that other should retaliate.

The Stoic was a pantheist; the Epicurean a materialist. The Stoic taught that the human soul was corporeal, but animated by the universal soul, or reason; the Epicurean taught that it was composed of material atoms, which should perish when they became disintegrate. The Stoic believed in a universal divinity, present in everything; the Epicurean believed that the gods were material beings like himself, only more insensate and impassive.

Transplanted to Rome, both systems of philosophy were materially modified. The epoch of productive speculation had passed away, and philosophy had arrived at that stage where it was not only incapable of originating new systems, but wherein it seemed unable to apprehend the better elements of the old ones. "The enchanted draught of speculation," says Mommsen, "is always dangerous, but when stale and diluted it is rank poison."[15] Such was the state of Greek philosophy when it entered Rome. The doctrines of Epicurus responded exactly to the instincts of Rome, and were eagerly embraced by its luxury-loving people, now enriched by the spoils of a conquered world. DePressense well remarks of this philosophy that "if

(14) *Greek Philosophy;* Zeller, § 76.

(15) Mommsen, III, 511, seq.

it had not existed it must needs have been invented." It found an early champion in the poet Lucretius, who eagerly seized upon it as a weapon which he might use against the old mythology with that vindictive hatred which we have already remarked. "Let us trample religion under our feet," he says, "and let our victory over it exalt us to heaven." He claimed that religion was the height of immorality, the instigator of every crime. He would banish it from the earth and relieve the soul of the terrors which its imaginary gods had aroused. Like some Epicureans of our own day Lucretius supposed that man might be made free by destroying his belief in immortality; and he seriously endeavored to accomplish this by destroying the faith of the people of his own age.

This philosophy therefore became at Rome a mere school of self-indulgence, and lost the refinement which, in Greece, had led it to recognize in virtue that which gave zest to pleasure and in temperance that which prolonged it. It called simply for a continuous round of physical delights; it taught the grossest sensuality; it proclaimed the inanity of goodness and the lawfulness of lust. It was the road—sure, steep and swift, to awful demoralization.

Stoicism on the other hand, transplanted to Rome, found its response in the nobler spirits of the age. It assumed an aspect much more severe than it had manifested at Athens, and rallied to itself many who strove to rise above the general degradation. In them it sought to kindle an aspiration after a purer faith and a better life; but it could not neutralize the deadly consequences of its first principles. Denying God and

personal immortality, it had no basis for morality and no foundation for hope; and it was obliged to confess the fact. There was a tone of melancholy in its teaching which could not be disguised, a hopelessness which could not be hidden. A desolating fatalism pervaded the system. "The fates are our laws," said the Roman Stoic. From the inexorable tyranny of these fates, however, he had one certain refuge, which he never failed to counsel; he

> "Could himself his own quietus make
> With a bare bodkin."

This had been the comfortless recourse of the Stoic from the first. Zeno and Cleanthes both committed suicide, and their example was followed by many a disciple.[16] They freely declared that it was not

> "Nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> Than to take arms against a sea of troubles,
> And by opposing end them."

Stoicism, as an eminent Frenchman has said, was "an apprenticeship for death." It taught its disciples to live proudly, to suffer heroically, to die bravely—that was all. It was a grim paradox; refined, but determined cowardice; subtle, but abandoned selfishness. It contained no sympathy, no generosity, no humble resignation, no abiding peace. It proclaimed as the correct maxim of life, "Kill thyself and die erect in the consciousness of thy own strength." Pliny, as we have already noticed, counseled it. Says Seneca:

"Seest thou yon steep height, that is the descent to freedom. Seest thou yon sea, yon river, yon well; freedom sits there in the depths. Seest thou yon low withered tree; there

(16) Zeller, § 72.

freedom hangs. Seest thou thy neck, thy throat, thy heart; they are the ways of escape from bondage."

And Seneca took his own medicine—a double dose of it, in fact; for he not only opened his veins, but took poison in addition.

Surely heathenism has gone bankrupt and declared itself absolutely insolvent in the advice and example of its greatest Stoic. Despairing of every kind of happiness it has no further consolation for the evils of life than self-destruction. It knows no way in which to achieve victory over the world, but by escaping from the world. Indeed, there was no desire to believe in a world to come lest the future might be a continuance of the ills of the present. Says Pliny:

"What folly it is to renew life after death. Where shall created beings find rest if you suppose that shades in hell and souls in heaven continue to have any feeling? You rob us of man's greatest good—death. Let us rather find in the tranquility which preceded our existence the pledge of the repose which is to follow it."

Such then was the outcome of heathen philosophy. It is true that a counter revolt had appeared in the New Academy, which sheltered itself under the name of Plato, and attempted to restore the old Socratic traditions. But it was a signal failure. Its very adherents soon abandoned the principles which they had attempted to hold, and the pagan mind fell back again into materialism or pantheism. The Epicurean and Stoic substantially divided the world between them. It was a lost world; and at last was conscious of its bitter misery.

THE FINAL CONDITION: DESPAIR.

We perceive now a state of society in which there

is a purification of the human ideal and a development of noble aspirations, in connection with a sense of utter failure and an ever-deepening skepticism; a craving which was strong and universal to believe something but a conviction that nothing was certain. There was an apprehension and appreciation of the good and the true; but so soon as the hand was put forth to grasp them they vanished. The heathen world perceived the good, but could not prevent itself from following the evil. Yet as it could not accept the verdict of final failure, it became the more anxious for some mysterious deliverance, which was the more increased by the intuition of the human heart.

Such was the condition of the thoughtful mind. It finds a complete illustration in the question which Pilate, a representative Roman, addressed to one whom he supposed to be only a Galilean peasant, who had been brought before him for judgment: "What is truth?" Cicero, after referring to the doctrines of different philosophers concerning the human soul, says: "Which of these opinions may be true a god may know; which may be only probable is a difficult question." "Ah! if one might only have a guide to truth," sighs Seneca. They were shut up to a hopeless condition in which they must patiently abide until from some quarter which they could not foresee, and in some way of which they could not conceive, relief should come to their vexed and impatient souls. The best of them and the wisest of them could but re-echo the words of Plato: "We will wait for one, be it a god or god-inspired man, to teach us our religious duties and to take away the darkness from our eyes."

Then came feverish unrest, intolerable *ennui.*

The heart of the Roman world was consumed with desire which could not be gratified; shaken with the agitation of a soul no longer master of itself. The hope of annihilation was the only consolation which it enjoyed, and in this heartless, sickening, stifling, overwhelming despair the representative of the Græco-Roman world abandoned himself to anything that might afford him some relief.

* * * * * *

"Ah! carry back thy ken,
What, some two thousand years! Survey
The world as it was then.

"Like ours it looked, in outward air,
Its head was clear and true;
Sumptuous its clothing, rich its fare;
No pause its action knew.

"Stout was its arm, each thew and bone
Seem'd puissant and alive—
But ah! its heart, its heart was stone
And so it could not thrive.

"On that hard pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell;
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.

"In his goodly hall with haggard eyes,
The Roman noble lay;
He drove abroad in furious guise
Along the Appian Way.

"He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crowned his hair with flowers;
No easier, nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours."(17)

(17) *Matthew Arnold's Poems;* "Obermann Once More."

"Give me some fresh comfort," cries Pliny the younger, in the anguish of his heart—

"Give me some fresh comfort, great and strong, such as I have never yet heard or read. Everything that I have read or heard comes back now to my memory, but my sorrow is too deep to be reached by it."

And we have finally in the death of Petronius a complete illustration of the character of the godless world. Petronius the attaché of Nero's court, the great story-teller and wit, the master of ceremonies at many a game and banquet; the man whose authority upon matters of taste was such that he received the surname of "Arbiter;" the man who is known in literature by his beautiful descriptions of the profligacy of his times—Petronius committed suicide because he feared that his jealous rival Tigellinus might displace him. He opened his veins that he might slowly bleed to death, and while the blood was flowing conversed with his friends upon frivolous subjects. When a certain ludicrous poem was read to him, or some laughable incident was narrated, which he wished to enjoy at length, his veins were tied up in order that his death might be retarded; and so he passed out into the darkness. Does history anywhere afford an illustration of such sardonic, grim and ghastly humor, and at the same time, of such pathetic hopelessness, in which it is not even conscious of its own despair, as this?

INTENSE DESIRE.

But mankind had now reached the point to which God must bring it. The desire for salvation had become distinct. Fallen man had recovered his sense of the need of pardon and reconciliation. While God

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was still unknown, and his truth unseen, the conscience groped towards the light as plants which grow in mines stretch forth their blanched and brittle tendrils towards that sun whose beams have never reached them.

There was a world within this hopeless and godless heathen world—in it, but scarcely of it. The disproportion between the members of the two is of little moment. By means of a small minority the Lord accomplishes his purposes, and the privileged few become the means of blessing to all. On those heads which are lifted up towards heaven arises the dawn of that new day, which, first touching the mountain-tops, does not close until all the valleys have been filled with light. Our attention, then, must not be taken up with the reckless crowd, the degraded aristocracy, the superstitious populace, the heartless men of the world. We must remember the honest strivings after the good and the eager thirst for truth which we perceive to have been exhibited even in that age, and find therein the promise of something better. To lead humanity to sigh after deliverance was the great design of God in this peculiar work of preparation. This is very beautifully exhibited in the character of Clement, a noble Roman of that age, as depicted in "The Clementines," a sort of philosophical romance written in the second or third century. Clement says of himself:

"I was from my early youth exercised with doubts, which had found entrance into my soul I hardly know how. Will my existence terminate with death? And will no one hereafter be mindful of me when infinite time sinks all human things in forgetfulness? It will be as well as if I had not been born! When was the world created? And what existed before the world was? If it had a beginning will it likewise have an end? And

after the end of the world what will be there then? If not perchance the silence of death, something of which at present no conception can be found? Incessantly haunted by such thoughts as these I grew pale and emaciated, and what was most terrible, whenever I strove to banish this anxiety, I only experienced the renewal of my sufferings in an aggravated degree. I was not aware that I had in these thoughts a friendly companion, guiding me on towards eternal life, as I afterwards learned by experience, and thanked the great Disposer of all for granting me such guidance; since it was by these thoughts—so distressing at first, that I was impelled to seek till I found that which I needed."

His fruitless endeavor to obtain peace in the study of philosophy, in the investigation of foreign religions, and in other ways, is described in the same pathetic language. "Thus was I driven to and fro, and from the bottom of my heart sighed for deliverance." Such was his condition when he heard and accepted the Gospel.[18] And there were thousands like him. St. Augustine, after he had read Cicero's "Hortensius," which in concentrated form presents the very best which the heathen world could offer to the seeking soul of that age, testifies: "Then I arose and went to Christ." Such was the effect of the despair of heathenism.

(18) From Neander's Introduction to *Church History*.

Chapter XIV.

THE WORLD LYING IN WICKEDNESS.

"The whole world lieth in wickedness," says the Apostle John,[1] in another of those concise sayings in which the sacred writers characterized their age. The Apostle Paul in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans depicts the wickedness to which John refers, in language as delicate and words as few as could possibly be used in justice to the subject. After a reference to the unspeakable uncleanness of heathen society he catalogues the criminals of his own time. "Being filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, deceit, malignity; whisperers, back-biters, haters of God; insolent, haughty, boastful; inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, unmerciful."[2] That his picture is not overdrawn, but if anything rather the reverse, appears from a number of independent sources, such as the writings of the early christian apologists, the confessions of the heathen writers and the remains of heathen civilization which are preserved at the present day. It would almost seem as though, in the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which occurred a few years after Paul entered the Imperial City, a part of the Almighty's purpose was to bury out of sight the evidences of heathen impurity as it existed in the age

(1) 1 John, v: 19. (2) Rom. i: 29 (R. V.).

in which Christ appeared, and preserve them so securely that there might not be any question as to their identity when they should be offered in testimony before the bar of the enlightened judgment of an age succeeding after eighteen centuries had rolled away. The Musee Borbonico at Naples contains a collection of articles which the excavations in these ancient cities have yielded, showing the very remarkable degree of cultivation which existed at the time; but there is one room in that museum which women are not allowed to enter. This is all the more suggestive when we remember that in the modern city in which the museum stands, there is very much to give offense to the pure eyes of Protestant women. But this room reeks with an impurity which christian civilization has never known, even in its most corrupt day and under the most unfavorable influences; and contains the most hideous proofs of the abject infamy of that heathenism which was rotten to the core. The world had reached a moral condition very similar to that which appeared in the age immediately preceding the Flood, when Noah appeared as a preacher of righteousness, and a new moral regime was instituted; similar to that which was found at a later period, at the time of the call of Abraham, and the formal organization of the Church of God; and the manner of the destruction of Pompeii bears such a remarkably close resemblance to the manner of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah that we are tempted to believe that the Almighty determined upon the catastrophe in order to invite attention to his condemnation of the vices and crimes which had become intolerable even to the God of all mercy,

and that again, at a time when in sending his own Son he was to renew his covenant and extend its privileges to all mankind.

This chapter is devoted to some description of the moral condition of the heathen world at this juncture in order that the hopelessness of heathenism may still further appear.

EARLY ROMAN VIRTUES.

The conquerors of the world had become the slaves of their own passions. The virtues which had produced those virile natures and energetic spirits whereby the world had been brought into subjection were no longer practiced. During the early days of the Republic the morality of Rome was distinguished by its simplicity and its austerity. The Roman community was a virtuous one. The sanctity of marriage was maintained. It is true that the woman remained subject to her father or husband; in the first case belonging so entirely to him that he might at any moment resume all that he had ever bestowed upon her; and in the second case, according to the ancient legal phrase, "under her husband's hand"—that is to say, he possessed the right of life or death over her.[3] But although this may appear severe to the disciples of Christ we must remember that in actual practice the severity was not so great as we might imagine. Women were protected by public opinion, and the standard of virtue was so high that their husbands remained true to them. Plutarch declares that it was two hundred and thirty years before a single divorce took place in Rome. Dionysus

(3) *History of the Romans Under the Empire;* Merivale, ch. xxii. Mommsen, I, 89.

of Halicarnassus claims that it was more than five hundred. It is certain that for a long period manners were comparatively pure. The people were not only virtuous, but, as a rule, temperate, industrious, and—after their own standards, conscientious. No immodest pictures were permitted; no nude statues of the gods were tolerated, and the children of the household grew up under the watchful care of modest mothers who carefully prescribed the simple duties of domestic life.[4] Public virtues also prevailed to the same extent as domestic ones. Macaulay[5] draws an unchallenged picture of the Republican days in the verse:

"Then none was for a party,
Then all were for the State;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great.
Then lands were fairly portioned,
And spoils were fairly sold;
The Romans were like brothers,
In the brave days of old."

CONQUEST AND CORRUPTION.

But the corruption of the morals of the Roman people began at the same time and under the same influence as the corruption of their faith. It was introduced with the conquest of Carthage and Corinth, and completed with the subjugation of Egypt and the East. Down to the time of the dictator Sylla (B. C. 82), Rome was a comparatively poor city. It then became rapidly enriched, until with the organization of the Empire, its wealth appeared to be inexhaustible. Upon

[4] *Beginnings of Christianity;* Fisher, 197. *Ancient World and Christianity;* De Pressense, 160.

[5] *Lays of Ancient Rome;* "Horatius."

Pompey's return from the East (B. C. 61) he exhibited in his triumph the treasures which he had collected in the plunder of Greece —plate, statuary, gems, and the like. These he bestowed upon his friends; and the desire for such possessions distinctly dates from the event.[6] In the reign of Augustus the capital city underwent a transformation similar to that which appears in the external life of a modern speculator when he suddenly acquires a fortune Augustus boasted that he found it of brick and would leave it of marble. The public buildings displayed incomparable magnificence. Splendid temples were built, costly aqueducts erected, public baths furnished at great expense and the public squares adorned with hundreds of statues. The places of amusement were enlarged and embellished, no expense was spared in maintaining them, and the emperors of the period immediately succeeding that of Augustus even sprinkled the floors of the circus with gold dust.[7] The rulers of Rome vied each with his predecessor in the display of his personal surroundings, until the culmination of magnificence was attained in the Golden House of Nero. It embraced fields and gardens, meadows and forests and even a lake. Its walls were overlaid with gold and adorned with precious stones. The banqueting rooms were decorated with carved and gilded ceilings, so arranged that they might be changed to conform to the various courses of the meal, and so constructed as to shower perfumes and flowers upon the guests. "Now I am lodged as a man should be," said Nero, when he took possession of it.

(6) Merivale; ch. iv.
(7) *The Ancient World and Christianity;* De Pressense; p. 424.

The wealthy Romans aped the manners of their masters. M. Lepidus the Consul in 87 B. C. (the year that Sylla died), erected the most magnificent dwelling ever seen in Rome.[8] But within a generation it was surpassed by a hundred others, until we read of a single private dwelling which sold for 15,000,000 sesterces ($750,000). Emulation became a passion.[9] A residence which embraced only four acres was considered small, and the man who owned but a single dwelling almost contemptible. The wealthy Roman had his city house and his country house; and for miles away from Rome, and up into the mountains stretched the splendid parks of the aristocracy. The houses were built of costly stone, collected from every quarter of the world—marble, alabaster, serpentine, and mosaics of more precious material The inclosures were ornamented with fancy shrubbery, fountains and statues, while a rich crimson awning stretched from roof to roof. A company of slaves, themselves gorgeously attired, waited upon the lordly proprietors, and every known delight was enjoyed by them.

With the incoming of all this wealth and luxury, effeminacy and vice were also introduced, and the old Roman virtues speedily disappeared. The refinement with which the Greek had disguised both his skepticism and his sensuality misled the mind of the more prosaic Roman. The relaxation of the bonds of religious belief and the pernicious reasoning of a false philosophy had overtaken the Greek in the impotence of his national senility. But when he was brought into contact with the Roman his skepticism and immorality

(8) Merivale; VIII. (9) Mommsen; Vol. IV; p. 611.

prevailed with a heroic people, who were just entering upon the full vigor of national maturity. Their strength was that of a young giant; and by this miserable *mesalliance* their vices became those of a young giant also. The spirit of the refined and thoughtful, but doubting and sensual Greek, became the forceful influence in silencing their scruples, awakening their passions and encouraging them to tyranny, rapine and lust. It threw them upon the world, with all their native energy, relentless, cruel, insatiable.

In their early days the Greeks had not been lacking in charity and other distinguished virtues. But, like the younger son in the Saviour's parable, they had wasted their substance and squandered their portion. Immodesty, with its train of evil attendants, became their prominent characteristic. They married wives only that they might have children and their households receive suitable care; but the courtesan was ever the complement of the wife and exercised a greater influence. She was the favorite model for the very statues of their goddesses, and the Greek often lifted his hands in prayer to the representation of a notorious prostitute!

How disastrous, then, when Greek culture entered the abode of Roman virtue! How insidiously, but how swiftly, the work of corruption was carried on. Modesty stole abashed away, and with it disappeared the whole company of virtues.

Not only did the Romans become impure, but they became also cruel, covetous and faithless. Lust was attended by hatred, insincerity and brutality. Let us observe some of the particulars of this corruption.

POLITICAL.

The enjoyment of extraordinary power is a temptation to corruption which the natural man has never been able to resist. So soon as the Romans had brought the world under their yoke and become conscious of their mastery, the same effects were produced in character which we often find exhibited upon a small scale in the village tyrant or the big bully of the country school.

Augustus came to the throne at the inauguration of the most profound peace which the world had ever seen. But while the empire was governed by an admirable code of laws and the conflicting passions of mankind were to some extent allayed; the peace which was produced was still a false one, inasmuch as it was maintained by force. It was the peace of the dove in the claws of the eagle, too tightly clasped to struggle. The military power of the Romans under Augustus comprised 470,000 men in all, of which 85,000 were sailors. The larger part of the army was stationed upon the borders of the Empire, or in the countries which had recently been subjugated, and there remained 20,000 prætorian guards in Italy. Compared with the great standing armies even of the present day this was a very remarkable showing; but in view of the limited population of the Roman Empire, and particularly the disproportion between the native Romans and their conquered subjects, the military establishment was simply enormous.[10] This great host was thoroughly organized, equipped and disciplined.

[10] Merivale estimates the population of Italy at 7,000,000; the European portion of the empire at 40,000,000; the entire empire at 85,000,000. Chap. xxxix.

In the ancient days the Roman army was composed of free-born citizens who served without pay in a cause to which their own patriotism invited them, and when the campaign was closed they returned to their homes and to their peaceful avocations. But not so in later times. The army was maintained by enormous wages. It was largely composed of veterans derived from the provinces, who had seen service in every clime and who had made war the business of their lives. They seldom knew such a thing as defeat, and knew not how to accept it; and through their frequent experiences of violence and bloodshed they had lost all the finer feelings of humanity. The very heart of the Republic was thus corrupted in the corruption of its legions. But under the Empire this great establishment was under the control of a single man, and existed for his sole benefit or for that of those whom he was pleased to favor. It operated to increase the power and wealth and consequent enjoyment of the aristocracy of Rome. The consequence was that political demoralization which produced in time a class of emperors of which Caligula and Nero were types.

Augustus and the emperors who immediately succeeded him were, as a matter of course, Epicureans in their philosophy, who looked upon life as a round of pleasure, who had no concern for their fellows and no desire beyond their own security in the luxury wherewith they had surrounded themselves. The elevation of these men and their favorites to power very speedily corrupted the public conscience and debauched public character. The noble Roman became an informer to escape becoming himself a victim, an execu-

tioner to save his own execution, and flattered the infamy of his masters in order that he might not fall under their disapprobation. The whole populace had become servile and base—bent beneath an ignominious, stupid and cruel domination. Even those who had formerly maintained their incorruptible dignity, such as senators and knights, vied with the common people in the common degradation.

Moreover there were certain customs which had grown up in connection with the extension of the Roman conquests which ministered to the brutality of the people, the most conspicuous of which was the Roman Triumph, the public festival with which the conqueror was received upon his return from the country which he had subjugated. The Roman Triumph was the most brutal spectacle which the world has ever seen.[11] The procession entered the triumphal gate and passed through the Via Sacra to the temple of Jupiter upon the hill of the Capitol. It was led by the Senate and the magistrates of the city, who were immediately followed by long trains of carriages on which were displayed the spoils of conquest, including everything which had been borne away from the conquered people. Then came the strange animals of the desolated country, the arms and standards of the hostile leaders, and behind them in turn the leaders themselves with their wives, children and others of their kindred who had been taken captive, loaded with the fetters in which the conqueror had bound them. Finally the victorious general himself appeared, the principal figure of the procession, in a chariot drawn by four horses,

(11) *Outlines of History;* Fisher, 160.

attended by slaves, clothed in a robe embroidered with gold, a bough of laurel in his hand and a wreath of laurel upon his brow. Behind him his family appeared, to share in his honors, and finally the soldiers whom he had led to victory. The temples were then opened, and incense was burned to the gods. Buildings were decorated and the population thronged the streets of the city in holiday attire. As the procession climbed the hill of the Capitol a number of the captives, generally those of high rank, were taken into the adjoining Mamertine prison and put to death.[12] The festivities ended with a public feast in one of the temples, after which the conqueror was escorted home by a crowd of citizens.

Thus, every time that the Roman Triumph was repeated, it taught the people a lesson of cruelty, spoliation and outrageous injustice, all associated in their minds with the observance of religious ceremonies. They believed that the gods had given them the victory and with it absolute control over the persons and property of their conquered subjects. Nothing was too sacred for them to appropriate to their own use; no feelings were too tender for them to violate; no person was too dignified for them to subject to the most menial serfdom or torture with the most horrible cruelty. In such principles as these the Roman, after the organization of the Empire, received his political education.

SOCIAL.

But the political degradation of the people was slight compared with the demoralization of social, domestic

(12) Merivale, ch. xii.

and religious life. As the conquests of the Romans were extended and the enormous wealth of the conquered provinces flowed to Rome the results appeared in the obliteration of the middle class, upon which every nation must rely for the perpetuity of its free institutions. The population of Italy indeed began to diminish with the extended campaigns of Rome. The slaughter of men in battle was one cause, but not the chief cause of this fact. Labor had fallen into disgrace. The work by which a livelihood was earned was despised as ignoble, and such professions only as those of medicine, architecture and commerce were regarded as honorable employments for a freeman. The mechanic's occupation was considered degrading. A workshop was an shameful thing, and a freeman could not sink lower in the social scale than to become a tiller of the soil.[13] Thus the race of independent Italian yeomen was extirpated,[14] and in the place of the farmers who had once owned and worked the soil, and who had subsequently filled the Roman armies, there were found the throng of bondmen who labored in the field with fetters upon their limbs. The multiplication of slaves increased with the Roman conquests. The legions disbanded by the conqueror were rewarded with property in Italy. When Antonius returned from the battle of Phillipi, he rewarded his veterans with land in Italy to the extent of fifty to three hundred aeres a piece. The population of unfriendly cities was expelled to make room for them, and even the faithful sections suffered to a considerable extent. The poet Virgil was for a time

(13) *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism;* Ullhorn, 106.
(14) *History of Rome;* Mommsen, III, 209; IV, 607.

a sufferer by this high-handed confiscation. Horace, also, was reduced to poverty and hundreds of landed proprietors were rendered bankrupt.[15] Conquered territories were much more severely treated. The soldiers entered triumphantly into the provinces which had been subjugated, drove away the inhabitants and took possession of their lands. But these old soldiers seldom became industrious farmers. What they had obtained so easily was as easily thrown away. Their holdings passed into the hands of speculators and became the investments of Roman magnates. In this way arose those immense estates, some of them miles in extent, which were found under the Empire, in the place of the small farms of the Republic. As these could be worked more profitably with slave labor than with free, the slaves everywhere drove out their free competitors. This in turn produced another evil. As the estates became extravagantly large, and the quality of the labor correspondingly poor, farming ceased to be profitable. Grazing took its place. The luxuriant cornfields and the broad orchards gave place to immense meadows, in the midst of which stood the prison-like dwellings of the slaves.

As the country districts became depopulated the cities became crowded.[16] Those who could not maintain themselves flocked into the larger towns, especially to Rome, and an immense dependent population was thus gathered together.[17]

DEPENDENTS.

The mass of the Roman population thus consisted

(15) Merivale; ch. xxvii.
(16) *Beginnings of Christianity;* Fisher, 193.
(17) Mommsen; I, 365.

of two most unmanageable classes, slaves and mendicants. Let us consider them in order.

(1.) *Slaves:* Among the 12,000,000 native Romans under Augustus there were scarcely 2,000 proprietors,[18] and it is reckoned that in the entire Empire there must have been 6,000,000 slaves, of which 1,300,000 or more were in Italy.[19] These creatures were not regarded as men, but as so much insensate property. The slave was not supposed to have a free will nor any claim whatever upon the justice of his master, nor any capacity whatsoever for virtue in himself. Such had been the sentiment of the world, and its wisest men had from the first defended it. Aristotle justified slavery on the ground that some men are capable only of bodily labor.[20] Varro in his work on agriculture names three kinds of implements for tillage: the dumb, such as wagons; those that utter inarticulate sounds, such as oxen; and those that talk.[21] The slave then is simply an instrument for tillage. Even Cicero, writing to a friend concerning the death of a slave, apologizes for his feelings concerning him. Speaking of one of the prætors who had caused a slave to be crucified as a punishment for some slight offense in the chase, he significantly says, "*this might, perhaps, seem harsh.*" The slave had no rights; he could not hold property, and therefore he could not be prosecuted for theft. He could not contract marriage, and no action could be brought against him for adultery. He was not supposed to have any relations, and although

(18) Merivale; ch. iii.
(19) Mommsen; III, 494.
(20) *Outlines of Greek Philosophy;* Zeller, § 62.
(21) Ullhorn, 132.

it might be said of him that he had a father or children, the language possessed no legal meaning. His testimony was not admitted in a court of justice, and if it was to be taken he was first subjected to torture. Slaves were bought and sold, given and received, inherited and bequeathed, according to caprice or need. They might be hired or lent, and if the one to whom they were committed treated them badly, it was not regarded as an injury to a person; but merely as a deterioration of property, and the loss was made up to the owner. The slave market was conducted as a cattle market, and its contents when purchased were assigned according to their capacities to some handicraft or art, and even to begging or the brothel. They were often chained in front of the gate as we chain our dogs. In the museum at Naples there is a cast of a Pompeian slave, which was made by filling the cavity in which the body had rested with plaster, showing the iron band about his waist to which the chain was fastened.

Slaves who cultivated the fields suffered severely. They worked in chains and spent the night on the damp ground of their prison houses. But their condition was scarcely as bad as that of the slaves who labored in the great factories, in their scanty clothing and their heavy chains, compelled to toil all the day in the filthy workhouse without respite.

Certain pictures which have been given to us by the authors of the time reveal the condition and sufferings of these poor people. There was nothing to prevent an irritable or drunken master from exercising his cruelty upon an innocent slave except the pecuniary

loss which he might suffer, and this could be but little, as the market was glutted with the commodity. A slave who had given offense might be sent to the arena or flung to the fishes. Juvenal speaks of those who employed an officer by the year to lash their slaves, and who was permitted to go on with his cruel work until the scourge dropped from his hand from very weariness. Women seem to have been as oppressive in their treatment of their slaves as men. A woman of violent temper furnishes a slave to be crucified without even the inquiry as to his innocence. Another lays the whip over the bare shoulders of the maid who is dressing her hair. Cato sowed dissension among his slaves in order to prevent them from conspiring together; and after a supper which he had given to certain guests he took his whip and laid it upon those servants who had failed to do their part to his satisfaction. The slave must often stand the whole night long behind the chair of his drunken master to render the most repulsive services, and if he should so much as sneeze or cough and thus disturb the peace of his master, woe to him! He might be scourged until the blood came for some slight offense. The emperor Caligula caused a slave who had made a trifling mistake at a public spectacle, to be thrown into prison for several days in succession, and then executed him because his wounds were offensive. Another noble Roman condemned a slave who carelessly broke a valuable vase at a banquet in the presence of the emperor Augustus, to be thrown to the fishes. But even this was not the worst. According to the Roman law when a master was killed in his house all the slaves

who had spent the night under his roof were executed if the murderer was not discovered, and this law was in force until the time of the Empire.[22] A Roman præfect in the time of Nero was murdered and 400 slaves of both sexes and of all ages, even little children, were put to death.

We can scarcely estimate the demoralization which ensued in consequence of this system, which, always evil, was especially evil under the system that obtained in heathen countries. The slaves themselves could not be other than that which they were considered to be. As they were supposed to be incapable of virtue they naturally became dishonest and licentious. The influence of their character spread to the freemen as well. Inasmuch as children were largely committed to their care, the contamination of the youth of the Empire became very rapid, and the generation grew up in a familiarity with all that was treacherous and vile. Such then were the members and such the condition of the first class of dependents in the Roman Empire.

(2.) The second class were the *mendicants*. This consisted of a multitude of vagabonds who had rushed to the cities—especially the capital city, from all quarters, for the purposes of pleasure or of crime, and in order to be fed at the public expense. Not less than 200,000 persons were supported by donations from the government of money and provisions, to whom are to be added those who made mendicancy a profession, and who picked up their living by begging or by theft. A terrible contrast was exhibited between the extremes

(22) *The Beginnings of Christianity;* Fisher, 209.

of wealth and poverty, as they presented themselves to the eye in the chief city of the world—opulence and luxury upon the one hand and extreme destitution upon the other. In the early days of the Empire grain was delivered to the Roman citizens at a moderate price; but the emperor Claudius passed a law which provided for its gratuitous distribution. Those who depended upon the public distribution of wheat multiplied from year to year, and as each successive ruler naturally courted favor with the people the tendency to become dependent naturally increased. At certain times the effort was made to reduce the number. It reached 320,000 in the days of Julius Cæsar.[23] Afterwards, through the deportation of colonies, it was reduced to 100,000. But the constant tendency was toward renewed and rapid increase. On an appointed day of the month each person enrolled in the list received his check for five bushels of wheat, and this amount was measured out from the public storehouse to every one who brought and showed his credentials. These checks were frequently sold, especially as the measure was so large that it was more than enough for a single person. In addition to the grain, gifts of money were often bestowed by those anxious to retain their power, and even boys became the recipients of the benefaction.

It must be remembered that this was not benevolence, inasmuch as no one but a Roman citizen was taken into account. The gifts were not bestowed upon the poor or the sick or the otherwise needy, but upon strong and healthy men fully able to earn a living for themselves. It is simply to be regarded as a portion of

[23] Mommsen, IV, 591.

the spoils of a conquered world which the Roman authorities considered it just to bestow upon the Roman people. The character, as well as the amount, of the gifts improved with the demand. In the days of the emperor Augustus the people demanded wine in addition to their wheat; and at a considerably later day bread, already baked, and oil were distributed.

Thus the mass of the people lived by alms, while the pampered few who possessed the wealth revelled in incomparable luxury. The great middle class had been swept from Roman society. Those who attempted to earn their living were dependent not upon wages, but upon such gifts as their patron might bestow upon them, and even they, while rendering the most contemptible services, were often subjected to the most shameful and degrading treatment. The great mass of the people, however, lived in an idleness which was well nigh complete, and if not possessed of means were supported by the state.

GAMES.

Such were the chief features of Roman social life, inasmuch as they included the larger part of the population; but they were by no means the most demoralizing and disgusting. Other features were in keeping with them, parts of the same degraded system. As the vast population of Rome was not only hungry but idle, it became a necessity to provide for its occupation; so that the condition of Rome at this period has been justly characterized in the association of two words which represented the cry of the Roman populace—"*Bread and Games!*" These were the two things to which they felt that they had a right, and as they

demanded the food so also they demanded the amusement. Those in power found it well to occupy in this way the attention of the people, and thus divert their thoughts from the loss of their liberty. The great gatherings of the circus and of the amphitheatre took the place of those former assemblies in which the Romans had convened to regulate their public affairs. These entertainments were provided at an enormous expense, by the emperors who furnished them. Even the most economical felt obliged to provide for them, and the most inflexible were forced to yield to the pleasure of the people. The circus in the day of Julius Cæsar furnished seats for 150,000 men; Titus subsequently added seats for 100,000 more.[24] Here were exhibited foot-races, feats upon horseback, and an entertainment similar to that of the modern circus, accompanied by the grossest indecencies.[25] The characteristic thing, however, was the chariot-race, in which the greatest interest centered. Gladiatorial contests also furnished a spectacle of which the Romans were passionately fond. In these, men, often in large numbers, fought to the death with each other or with wild beasts, for the amusement of the spectator; and the demagogues of the Empire vied with each other in their efforts to minister to the popular passion. Julius Cæsar, 65 B. C., caused not less than 320 pairs of gladiators to engage in mortal combat. In the games which Augustus instituted 10,000 men were engaged, and they were celebrated for 66 days

(24) Fisher, 212.

(25) Merivale, xli, in which is a fine description of the general social state at Rome.

together. Titus gave the people a festival which lasted 100 days, and Trajan one which lasted 123 days.

In connection with these games the people were frequently feasted in a manner more magnificent than usual. The slaves of the emperor carried about meats and wine on broad platters or in huge baskets. Figs, dates and nuts were thrown among the people, and roasted fowls were distributed.

The gladiators who took part in these games were condemned criminals, prisoners of war, slaves, and those who had adopted the life as a profession. It was a common thing for masters to condemn their slaves to the arena for some slight breach of discipline, and gangs of gladiators were kept by private persons, who either exhibited them themselves or hired them out to such as desired them for their entertainments. Gladiatorial schools were established in various places, notably at Capua, for the training of those who were to fight in the arena. Great establishments were conducted with this end in view, provided with their corps of officials, physicians, fencing-masters, and the artisans who made or repaired the weapons. The gladiators themselves were subjected to a rigid training and a careful diet, and were securely lodged in cells from which they could not escape. Skeletons of such gladiators have been exhumed from the ashes of Pompeii, with their iron fetters still upon them.

Gladiatorial entertainments were conducted with the greatest pomp. On the night before the festival the people streamed into the arena in order to secure seats; for, immense as it was, it was yet difficult to obtain one of the places provided. A religious service intro-

duced the sports, in connection with which a great procession, led by the magistrate who gave the games, entered the enclosure, the leader seated in his chariot followed by the images of the gods. The lower seats were set apart for the senators, in the midst of which was the gallery of the imperial family. The entertainment began with a procession of gladiators in full armor. They marched about the arena, halting before the emperor, whom they thus addressed: "Ave, Cæsar, Imperator, morituri te salutant." At first there was a sham fight, which was soon followed by the serious sport, which was conducted in terrible earnest. The vanquished gladiator begged for his life by holding up a finger. The spectators decided his fate. If they turned down their thumbs (*pollice verso*), this was the signal for the fatal stroke. Women, and even timid girls, were accustomed to give the sign without hesitation. After the death blow had been given the slaves touched the body of the murdered man with hot irons, to be sure that his death was not pretended; then he was dragged out to a room where those who were found to be still alive were put to death. In the intervals between the battles the ground was turned over in order to hide the blood, and was covered with a new coating of sand.

But these battles between single individuals only whetted the unnatural appetites of the Romans for the exhibition of the horrible upon a larger scale. Spectacles of this kind were therefore furnished, and magnificent battles were given in the amphitheatre, which was sometimes flooded with water in order that the fight might be waged between mimic ships of war. Julius

Cæsar celebrated his triumph by a battle of this sort, in which 500 footmen, 300 cavalry and 20 elephants with men upon them, engaged. This was only the beginning of a series of encounters between bodies of men, which the succeeding emperors instituted for the diversion of the people.

Such was social life in the Roman Empire in the time of Christ, brutal in the extreme. We turn away from such scenes as it presents with loathing; but that which causes our most emphatic disapprobation is not so much the fact that such things existed, as that they received the approbation of the noblest men of the age. Pliny, Seneca and Ovid seemed to regard such things as trivial matters, rather to be commended than condemned, especially as those who engaged in them were usually slaves or criminals. Such was heathenism in its most cultivated age. Society was absolutely bereft of compassion. "It was the glory of Athens" says Archdeacon Farrar, "that she alone had reared a solitary altar to Pity."[26] But the people of that age regarded pity as a weakness. Even their women gloated over the agonies of the dying gladiator and the tortures of the executed slave. The "dark places of the earth were full of the habitations of cruelty."

DOMESTIC.

There were darker and deeper vices than those which have been observed, existing in connection with the domestic life of the people; but there is no occasion to dwell at length upon the details. The Apostle Paul, in the passage quoted at the opening of this

(26) *Witness of History of Christ;* 174.

chapter, has given an explicit description of the picture of domestic immorality which was furnished by the times. Marriage had fallen into deeper and deeper contempt.[27] The freedom of single life was preferred by both sexes. Seneca went so far as to affirm that marriage was only contracted in order that adultery might afford additional charm, and declared that whoever had no love affairs was to be despised. Unnatural vices prevailed.[28] Statesmen, judges, generals and emperors were guilty of them, and a degree of toleration was granted to them which in modern times would render the perpetrator an outcast from society.

Women abandoned themselves to excesses in which they vied with men. Even those of the aristocratic classes became dissatisfied with lovers of their own rank and sought others among the very dregs of the people, such as slaves and gladiators.[29] They lived in the midst of obscene luxury. Their time was consumed with defiling gossip; they surrounded themselves with buffoons; they paraded the town clothed with indecent garments; they perfumed themselves with most fragrant odors,[30] and their nights were passed at banquets from which modesty had been banished. Ladies of high birth even enrolled themselves in the police registers that they might abandon themselves to license. The Emperor Augustus himself[31] experienced what he regarded as the crowning sorrow of his life in the shameless deportment of his own daughter Julia; and in his old age the sorrow and shame was renewed

(27) Mommsen, iii, 502.
(28) See Fisher, 205.
(29) De Pressense, 427.
(30) Mommsen, iii, 509, 607.
(31) Merivale, xxxvii.

and doubled in the similar indecencies of a granddaughter who bore the same illustrious name.

In such a state of society, even if marriages were celebrated, the children were few in number. They were not desired in advance and they were not welcomed when they appeared. As there was no sense of the sacredness of human life infanticide was commonly practiced. The right of parents to destroy their children was recognized both in law and in practice. Although there had originally been a law among the Romans forbidding their destruction, it had become obsolete. The destruction of unborn children was even more commonly practiced than infanticide, and not only did moral disintegration ensue in the destruction of family life, but the very foundations of the state were undermined in the decrease of the native population.

The rulers of the world set the example to their subjects, themselves engaging without shame in the most shameless vices. The emperor Augustus endeavored to promote marriages by legal enactments. He issued edicts against adultery and offered a bounty to those who would take wives;[32] but he himself lived in the open practice of adultery. He courted the wives both of Mæcenas and Livy,[33] and his palace gates stood open to the abandoned.

The consuls who gave their names to the law against celibacy were neither of them married; and thus the attempt upon the part of the state to regulate the morals of society was known to be a gigantic fraud.

(32) Merivale, xxxiii.
(33) De Pressense, 423; Merivale, xxxv,

RELIGIOUS.

But the most disheartening thing in connection with the immorality of the heathen world, as may indeed be gathered from what appears already, is that it was directly associated with the practice of religion. The people did but imitate the example of their gods. Mercury was a robber; Hercules a gladiator; Jupiter a debauchee and Venus a courtesan of the lowest class. The old gods who, in the early ages of Greece and Rome, had been invested with a certain majesty, were now degraded to the lowest rank in consequence of the awakening conscience of a people, who, though hopelessly corrupt, yet retained some knowledge of the true and good. What could be expected of a people who built a temple consecrated to the worship of a female divinity in which a host of abandoned females were kept as a part of the religious establishment?[34] What can be thought of a people who dared not utter aloud the prayers which they whispered in the ears of such gods and goddesses as these?[35] The morals of the gods were attrocious; what else could the morals of the people be? Licentiousness was a part of their worship. Indecent songs and symbols attended their religious festivals. The closed room of the museum at Naples, to which reference has been made, contains certain votive offerings of clay and marble, and even of bronze, which may not even be described in these pages. So early as the year 189 B. C., after the Bacchanalian orgies had been transferred to Rome, 7,000 persons united in observing them at one time, and the consuls were obliged to suppress

(34) Fisher, 198. (35) De Pressense, 434.

the ceremonies inasmuch as they involved not only gross debauchery but murder and other crimes of violence as well.[36] Livy mentions the case of a certain prætor who condemned to death in one year 3,000 poisoners whose crimes were the outgrowth of their religion. Men became murderers and robbers in consequence of religious principles; and thus upon all hands the tide of religious corruption swelled the tide of moral corruption which beat against and overturned the barriers of social order and domestic purity.

This is a gloomy picture, but it has been impossible to paint it in the colors which really belong to it. It would be an offense to make quotations from either Christian or heathen writers which should suitably depict the condition of the age. We must leave it to the reader to attempt to conceive of a state of things as foul and unnatural as it is possible for him to imagine, and even then, he who has spent this life in a Christian country will not so much as approach the truth. Those only who have seen life as it is exhibited in heathen countries of to-day can adequately picture to themselves the horrible extent of moral corruption which existed in the Roman empire in the age in which the Redeemer appeared. It may all be summed up in the words of its own writers. Seneca says:

"All things are full of iniquity and vice. More crimes are committed than can be remedied by force. A monstrous contest of wickedness is carried on. Daily the lust of sin increases, daily the sense of shame diminishes. Casting away all regard for what is good and honorable, pleasure runs riot without restraint. Vice no longer hides itself. It stalks forth before

(36) Merivale, xxii,

the eyes. So public has iniquity become, so mightily does it flame up in all hearts, that innocence is no longer rare; *it has ceased to exist.*"

Lucian exclaims:

"If any one loves wealth and is dazed by gold; if any one measures happiness by purple and power; if any one brought up among flatterers and slaves has never had a conception of liberty and truth; if any one has wholly surrendered himself to pleasures, full tables, carousels, lewdness, sorcery, falsehood and deceit, let him go to Rome."

Surely the apostle Paul was not misled when he characterized the people of the age in a single sentence:

"Foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another."

Into such a gulf of depravity has the world been brought. It has no power to help itself. If it is ever to be redeemed its redemption must come from above. The need of a great deliverer has become sadly and certainly apparent. Surely the great deliverer will soon be manifested.[37]

[37] In connection with the entire chapter see Lanciani's *Ancient Rome*, and *Pagan and Christian Rome.*

Chapter XV.

"THE FULLNESS OF TIME."

The Apostle Paul says, writing to the Galatians, "When the fullness of the time was come God sent forth his Son."[1] While this expression is not elsewhere repeated in exactly the same form the thought which it contains is frequently expressed in the New Testament. The prophecies of the Old Testament had themselves indicated that the Redeemer would appear at the most suitable juncture in the history of the world. The writers of the New Testament declare that this fitting juncture occurred at the precise moment when Jesus was laid in the manger. "All things were ready" for the proclamation of the Gospel when Jesus himself actively entered upon his work, and he himself began his work with an announcement similar to that which the Apostle afterwards employed. He came into Galilee, as Mark informs us, "Preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand."[2] We shall observe in the present chapter the justification of such expressions in the peculiar circumstances of the age in which Christ appeared. We have already traced the history of the preparation of the world for his coming, and observed as our studies progressed, the increasing need of a deliverer and the increasing prospect of his appearance. If nothing else were to be

[1] Gal. iv: 4. [2] Mark, i: 15.

added we should conclude that the deliverer appeared at the opportune hour. But we are now to observe certain particular additional features from which we judge that the Redeemer came at just the right moment, and are therefore bound to draw certain conclusions with regard to the careful providence of God. In these particular features there appears a sort of crisis in the history of the world, in which crisis it would seem that the Redeemer must come, if he is ever to come, inasmuch as it is not likely that such a juncture of circumstances, so favorable to his coming, shall ever again occur in the history of the world; and looking back upon that time from our present standpoint we can certainly say that no such juncture has occurred up to our own day.

It might not be possible for us to locate the very hour or even the very year in which the Redeemer must appear, except as we are guided by the Scripture; but even without the Scripture, we should be able to locate the opportune time within the limits of a single generation, as indeed it was located by those who had no such understanding of the prophecies of the Scriptures as ourselves, namely; the Jews of that age and the Gentiles of the same age as well.

What are the features to which we refer?

THE JEW IN HISTORY.

Before answering this question it will be well for us to recall the particular features connected with other significant junctures in the history of the world, in which, as we have seen, the Almighty intervened with some new dispensation or some additional revelation

of his truth. Such were the following: The occasion of the Chaldæan ascendency; the culmination of Egyptian power; the golden age of Babylonia; and following these, similar periods in the history of the Persian, the Macedonian and the Roman Empires. It is a most remarkable fact that in every such juncture the Jew was present—using the word "Jew" as descriptive of the people of Israel during their entire history. When Chedorlaomer the first great Oriental conqueror extended his campaigns to the west, he was confronted and humiliated by Abraham the father of the Jewish Nation. When Rameses the Great came to the throne he found the Jew in Egypt, and his son and successor was confronted by Moses. Asshurbanipal, the Assyrian, came in contact with the Jew as represented in the northern kingdom of Israel. Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian was the instrument in the hand of God whereby the Jew was to be cured of his idolatry. Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian monarchy, issued the edict for his return from captivity. Alexander the Great, the Macedonian conqueror, treated the Jew with distinguished consideration, and marks the initial point in his intellectual transformation; and Julius Cæsar, the founder of the Roman Empire, comes into friendly contact with him again and again.

The great movements of mankind, therefore, seem to be always intimately connected with the people of God. The Jew outlives his conqueror; the Jewish nation survives the nations which brought it into subjection; and from secular history alone we should be bound to conclude that God had some mighty purpose in connection with the people which has had so singu-

lar a history. We recall therefore the old text recorded more than fourteen hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ and with which we introduced our studies: "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of children of Israel."[8]

We have already seen that this strange contact of Israel with the dominant races of the earth has always had some clear connection with the coming of the Saviour, either in the preservation, purification or unification of the chosen seed through whom Christ should come; or in the preparation of the heathen world for his reception in the day of his appearance, and it is a most significant fact that the historical student of the present age is most absorbed with those periods in the life of the great empires at which they touched the history of God's own people.

In these junctures of providential history we observe certain common features, such as the culmination of political power, the culmination of idolatrous worship, and the culmination of immoral practices, and we have observed the same in connection with the age in which Christ appeared; but in a degree surpassing that which had been exhibited at any previous period. In the recurrence of these common features, and especially in their more intense manifestation, we should be led to expect some such intervention of divine providence as occurred upon like preceding occasions. But in addition to these common features there are other special features in which the fullness of time more par-

[8] Deut. xxxii: 8, 9.

ticularly appears. These features are both positive and negative.

1st, *Positive.* At the time of the Saviour's coming the Jew was not only at the center, as he had been upon previous occasions, *but he was everywhere.* The Jewish people had been scattered abroad over the whole earth, and wherever they appeared it was as witnesses to the truth of God and to the hope of Israel.

EXTENT OF JEWISH DISPERSION.

Among those who gathered upon the day of Pentecost at Jerusalem, the author of the Book of Acts informs us, were "Jews out of every nation under heaven," and he gives the long list of nationalities represented by that remarkable gathering: "Parthians, and Medes and Elamites and dwellers in Mesopotamia and in Judæa and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene and strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians."(4) Nor is the description of this writer an extravagant one. Josephus says that "there is no country on earth where the Jews are not a part of the population." The geographer Strabo says, "Already a Jewish population has entered every city, and it is not easy to find a place in the habitable world which has not received this race and is not possessed by them." They were very strongly represented in the countries into which they had been carried captive, Babylonia and Assyria. We have seen that they were very numerous in Egypt where they constituted more than one-eighth of the entire

(4) Acts ii:9–11.

population, and where they had spread in great numbers as far west as the city of Cyrene. They had spread from Northern Syria into Asia Minor and had thence crossed over into Europe. They were found in Crete and Cyprus and in other islands of the Mediterranean. Large colonies of them lived in Macedonia and Greece, in such cities as Athens, Corinth and Phillippi. They had gone still further west in great numbers and settled throughout Italy. Puteoli had a large Jewish population. It is now definitely established that they had seven synagogues in Rome. They were found in Gaul, and penetrated even to Spain and Britain. Over this vast extent of territory, reaching from the River Indus on the east to the Pillars of Hercules on the west, and from the River Thames on the north to the African desert upon the south, these representatives of the religion of the Jehovah and of the hope of redemption were to be found.[5]

JEWISH EXPECTATION.

But these Jews had been taught loyalty to Jehovah, and so, although scattered among all nations, they were not corrupted by their idolatries. They still continued to hold to their common creed, their common center and their common hope. In every place where there were ten male householders who had leisure to give themselves to regular attendance, they established their synagogue,[6] and where there was no synagogue, there was at least a regular meeting-place under the open sky, generally outside the town and near to some river or lake, whose waters might be used in their purifica-

(5) Merivale, ch. xxix. (6) Edersheim's *Messiah*, I, 75.

tions. And the Jew was regarded as a stranger and sojourner in every land wherein he dwelt, even although he knew that his whole life was to be passed therein. His home was the Land of Canaan; the common center of the dispersed of Israel was Jerusalem the City of God. The Jew both of the East and of the West, joined in fervent exclamation, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem! let my right hand forget her cunning." This was not merely a matter of patriotism; it was a religious principle, the foundation of a great spiritual hope. In Jerusalem alone men could truly worship, and therefore the pious Jew in every land turned toward the Holy City as he offered his prayer to God. From every synagogue the temple tribute was sent up to Jerusalem often accompanied by liberal voluntary offerings. Those who could command the means undertook at some time, and in many cases repeatedly, a pilgrimage to the city of their God.

As the years passed on, those hopes of the Jews which centered in Jerusalem became the more intense. This, not merely because of their increasing faith in the coming of the Messiah; but also because the coming of the Messiah meant to them the restoration of Jewish dominion and a return of the dispersed Israelites to their own land. Every devout Jew was accustomed to pray day by day for the gathering together of the dispersed at the call of the Messiah. In the Talmud, Israel is likened to the olive-tree which is never stripped of its leaves. The storm of trial sweeps over it not to blast it, but to purify it; and thus Israel's persecutions had served to keep them from being mixed with the Gentiles that they might not be destroyed. The day

would come when they should all be brought back and not a single Israelite be missing. The nations would conspire to honor them, and the bounds of their own land would be extended until they embraced all the territory which had been originally promised to Abraham. It was in the view of such expectations as these that the Apostles frequently questioned the Saviour as they did even after his resurrection: "Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"[7]

In the generation preceding the Saviour's birth these hopes and expectations became fully ripe. The Jew believed that at any moment the glad tidings might be announced that the Messiah had come. He believed that the signs of his advent had already appeared, and that the Messiah might be even now in the land, ready to manifest himself so soon as Israel should repent and thus prepare the way for his appearance. At any hour his banner might be unfurled upon the top of some mountain and his trumpet sound to call his people to his side. Again and again they asked themselves "Why does he delay his coming?" The painful question is again and again discussed by the Rabbis. And the usual answer is, "Because Israel does not repent of her sins." At the same time, however, the pious Jew did not believe that his coming would be indefinitely delayed on this account. It was the final opinion among the Rabbis that the time of the Messiah's coming depended upon the simple mercy of God, and that when the set time to favor Zion should arrive, the Messiah would appear; that his coming

[7] Acts i:6.

would not then be retarded by the moral condition of his people.

In such a state of mind they waited for him, and in such a state of mind they were found when he actually appeared. The calculations which they had made, founded upon the Old Testament prophecies, had generally fixed the time of his appearing within the limits of the very generation in which he was born.[8] To such expectations is to be assigned those manifestations of enthusiasm such as were displayed by the Zealots, that fanatical band of nationalists who attempted to revive the old Maccabean spirit and deliver the people of God from foreign domination; out of which had arisen certain false messiahs of whom Judas of Galilee (A. D. 11) was most conspicuous. Such persons could scarcely have secured a following in any other age, and the fanaticism which they manifested was due to the fervency of their hope and their confident expectation of the speedy appearance of the true Messiah.

The condition of Jewish expectation is very strikingly exhibited in the single fact that at this juncture and in consequence of these expectations the population of Jerusalem, the center of the Jewish hope and the focus of Jewish influence, amounted according to Josephus, upon the occasion of their great festivals, to the enormous number of three millions of souls. With all the false views of the Jewish Rabbis, their false interpretation of Scripture, and the fanciful or secular theories which they had adopted in connection with the prophecies of the Old Testament, it is nevertheless apparent from these facts, taken in connection with that which we

(8) *Life of Christ;* Geike, ch. vi. Edersheim, I, 82, 170.

have already observed in preceding chapters, that the Jewish world at this particular juncture was ready for the manifestation of the Messiah and that the fullness of time had come.

JEWISH INFLUENCE: HEATHEN MONOTHEISM.

But the Jews, in consequence of their world-wide dispersion and the size and importance of their colonies, were now exercising a greater influence over their heathen neighbors than they had ever before exerted. We have observed how the best religious thought of the heathen world had moved through a great orbit, in the course of which, starting from primitive monotheism, it had passed through naturism to polytheism and thence returned to monotheism again. But its course had been a spiral rather than a circle, and the movement had from the first been both a returning and a descending one; so that while it had inclined to the same quarter it had reached a very much lower point than that from which it had originally started. It had passed through the different phases of religious belief to that condition which we have already observed, in which the very multiplicity of its gods had insured the destruction of all of them together, and the excess of religious forms had brought about general skepticism and despair. At this juncture, which occurred in final form in the very age in which Christ appeared, the best minds of heathenism had substituted for the faith in the old religion a kind of monotheism, which was abstract and indefinite, philosophical in its tenets and cowardly in its utterances. The attempt had been earnestly made to so apprehend the popular religion

as to reduce polytheism to a higher unity which was believed to lie at its root. As the reason, in the course of its speculations, was obliged to recognize this original unity as a fundamental necessity, polytheism either proceeded out of it, or must be reduced back to it—the gods must be derived from one original. Thus Plato had derived all existence from One "who is hard to find, and whom, when found, it is impossible to make known to all." The effort was made to rescue faith from the total wreck which seemed to threaten it. The philosophers held to one divine primal essence, which they could scarcely distinguish from the world. Its worship appeared to them to be the first truth upon which every subsequent fabric of superstition had been erected. Varro declared that the only true thing in religion was the idea of a rational "Soul of the world," by which all things were moved and governed. He traced the origin of Roman superstition to the introduction of idols, and lamented their use. So Strabo also believed, describing Moses as a great reformer in that he opposed image-worship and established religious forms of a spiritual character. Yet he says, "This one Supreme Essence is what embraces us all—water and land; the heavens, the world and the nature of things." So also the elder Pliny, who, absorbed in the contemplation of nature, attempts to adore an infinite creative spirit, which manifests itself in its works. The chasm, however, between this Creator and its creatures he confesses he is unable to bridge. These theories were not held simply by a narrow and select circle. They were widely disseminated. Their apostles journeyed as far as the very apostles of the Lord, and, in the same age

as they, circulated their opinions with a zeal often characterized by fanaticism and associated with pretended supernatural powers. The whole Roman world looked upon their gods with suspicion or explained away their separate personality and listened with avidity to such as proclaimed that there was somewhere One whom they knew not and perhaps could not know; but concerning whom it was at least their duty and privilege to enquire.[9] By means of this monotheism, therefore, providence had prepared the way for a total renunciation of heathenism and the adoption of the belief in one living and true God which the Jew was ready to impart to his bewildered fellows. The heathen among whom these Jews dwelt in great numbers were rapidly made acquainted with their religious practices. The synagogue was open to them if they cared to attend its services, and the Jew, especially the Grecian Jew, had abandoned that cold and narrow exclusiveness which had formerly characterized him, and had now become anxious to bring the Gentile to the knowledge of the truth—so much so that the Saviour himself described even the Jew of Palestine as "compassing sea and land to make one proselyte."[10]

PROSELYTES.

In consequence of this state of thought proselytes had rapidly multiplied in the generation immediately preceding the birth of Christ. Numerous persons, many of them of the cultivated classes, turned with derision from the heathen religions to embrace the Jewish doctrines. Women in particular showed a

[9] See the Introduction to Neander's *Church History*.
[10] Matthew, xxiii: 15.

decided inclination to the Jewish faith. Edicts against the Jews were kept secret by the rulers lest the women should betray them. Thus the synagogues were largely composed of proselytes.[11] There were three distinct classes of them.

First; those who submitted to circumcision, and became incorporated with the Jewish people, who were called "*Proselytes of Righteousness.*" The number of these was comparatively small.

Second; a class known as "*Proselytes of the Gate.*" This class were not bound by circumcision and did not observe the special laws of the Mosaic code; but they renounced idolatry and worshipped Jehovah; they abstained from things strangled and from blood; and in other ways, similar to these, adhered to the Jewish community and shared in its faith.

Third; a class who were not, strictly speaking, proselytes, but who are known by a term usually applied to them in the New Testament as "*devout persons.*" These favored the worship of Jehovah, and endeavored to some extent to cultivate the morality of the Jewish religion.

In the increasing numbers of these proselytes, who were found wherever the Jews themselves were found, is recognized one of the peculiar features of the fullness of time. In a multitude of cities throughout the world they were ready to furnish a community in which Christian truth might find a lodgment and the Christian Church be organized.

HEATHEN HOPES.

Still further, and apart from the special influence

(11) Mommsen's *Provinces;* Book VIII, ch. xi.

which the Jewish people were now exercising, there was a general influence of the Jewish faith which found expression in the hopes of thoughtful heathen, which while they may not be distinctly traceable to Jewish sources, were unquestionably inspired thereby. At this very juncture the heathen themselves were looking for a deliverer, and by many it was supposed that this deliverer should appear among the Jewish people. The eyes of Greece and Rome were turned toward the East. The cycle of the ages was said to be completed; and the Golden Age of the world was expected to return. Suetonius and Tacitus both report a widespread rumor that the East should become powerful and the dominion of the world be assigned by fate to the Jews; and the Roman legions which Titus led against Jerusalem, looked upon the Holy City with a certain superstitious awe, some of them even deserting, because they expected some extraordinary divine aid to be given to it.[12] The fourth eclogue of Virgil, which was written in the very generation which preceded the coming of the Saviour, also reflects the expectation of the heathen. The poet celebrates a child who shall restore the Golden Age, in pictures which must have been derived, either directly or indirectly, from the ninth and eleventh chapters of the prophecy of Isaiah. The best authorities consider that Virgil could not have had in mind a son of Pollio, or any other person of his own age, as fulfilling his expectation; but adapted the predictions of the inspired prophet to express the hopes of his own countrymen.[13]

(12) *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism;* 80.
(13) See Merivale, ch. xxvii.

Such, then, were the hopes of both Jew and Gentile, and such the readiness for the reception of the Messiah, and all this culminating in the very generation in which Jesus was born. The very temple of God at Jerusalem, where services were conducted in Hebrew, yet placarded certain announcements in Greek and Latin—a sufficient indication of the concentration of the eyes of the world upon that sacred enclosure. The condition of the world finds its embodiment and complete expression in a single person afterwards chosen as the Apostle to the Gentiles—Saul of Tarsus: A Jew by birth, a Greek by education, and a Roman citizen by inheritance; a participant in all the hopes of Israel, a student of the literature of Athens, a subject of the privileges of Rome—he illustrates the completion of the preparation which in the providence of God had been made for the introduction of the Gospel.

But while Paul may have been the most suitable man of his age for the work to which he was called of God, it must not be forgotten that there were many others who had received a like training and who enjoyed the same privileges. The Scripture is indeed full of references to the men of peculiar character and attainments which the age had produced, and to their peculiar hopes and aspirations. Apollos, the great orator of the apostolic age, and who, in some of the places in which he labored, divided the honors with Paul himself, had received an education not unlike that of the great apostle. He was a Jew by birth and had an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures; but he was born at Alexandria, the great center of Grecianism, and had traveled extensively through the Roman

world. The character of the age is also illustrated in a number of minor characters to whom we are introduced in the New Testament; the Greeks who came up to worship at the Feast of the Passover and who desired to see Jesus; the Roman centurion who built a synagogue at Capernaum; Cornelius a member of a very distinguished family and the pious captain of the Italian Band at Cæsarea; and the Ethiopian eunuch who came up to Jerusalem to worship. Indeed, both the Saviour's birth and the Saviour's death are associated with incidents which minutely reflect the character of the age, and illustrate the fullness of time. While Jesus lay in the manger at Bethlehem the Wise Men came from the East inquiring for him "who was born King of the Jews,"[14] and when his work was finished and his "hour had come," he was betrayed by the sons of Shem into the hands of the sons of Japheth; but his ponderous cross was borne to the summit of Golgotha upon the stalwart shoulders of Simon the Cyrenian, who, if not a son of Ham, at least represented the continent to which the children of Ham had been assigned. And finally when the Saviour of the world hung upon the cross in mortal agony, the inscription placed above his head and intended to define the crime for which he suffered, "was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin."[15] Thus had the Hebrew, the Greek and the Roman involuntarily displayed the exact adaptation of the crucifixion to the hour, and demonstrated the fullness of time.

2d, *Negative:* Some of the negative features of the

(14) Matt. ii: 1, 2.

(15) Conybeare and Howson; Vol. I, ch. i, Title. John, xix: 20.

fullness of time have been already set forth in the previous chapters; but we have reserved for the present one, the consideration of their culmination in a certain form of idolatry and immorality, in which the iniquitous unbelief of the heathen world reached its final expression.

THE DEIFICATION OF THE EMPEROR.

The climax of all iniquity was reached in the deification of the emperor. Divine honors have often been paid to kings and others of conspicuous station; but the form which this idolatry assumed under the Cæsars was peculiar, and deserves close examination. Its special development began and was completed under Augustus, and in consonance with his own well defined plan.

In the defeat of Antonius at the battle of Actium, Octavius became the master of the world. He was still a young man, only 32 years of age. His dazzling success had turned the heads of the Roman people, from the humblest commoner to the highest patrician, while his own head, if it were itself turned, still manifested the subtle composure for which the heir of Julius Cæsar had been distinguished from his youth. There can be no doubt that he was meditating the complete subjugation of the entire Roman world to himself, and the consolidation of all its offices in his own person; but he succeeded in restraining the manifestations of his personal ambition, and thereby contributed to the sure and speedy accomplishment of its object. The Romans, wearied to death with the devastating wars of rival factions, were ready to welcome

a dictatorship, especially if its incumbent manifested the moderation which had been long displayed in the career of Octavius. It therefore came about that before his return to Rome they lavished their honors upon him, and courier after courier was dispatched by the Senate, bearing to him the successive decrees which it had passed with enthusiastic acclamation. He was permitted on all occasions to wear his triumphal insignia—the scarlet mantel and laurel crown; a quinquennial festival was instituted in his honor; his birthday was to be commemorated with religious rites, and the priests were ordered to add his name to the sacred formula in which they besought the safety of the city. These were only a portion of the honors which were showered upon him, by which the way was being prepared for his exaltation.[16] Octavius was wise enough to remain away from Rome while his friends were thus surrounding his name with this glamour, and shrewd enough to return at the very moment when the initial stage of the popular enthusiasm had reached its height, and his personal presence was necessary to advance it another degree.

In the year 29 B. C., two years after the battle of Actium, he appeared in Rome. He was accorded a triple triumph of the utmost magnificence; and at its close he proceeded at once to perform such ceremonies as should betray in his own shrewd and subtle way his devotion to the gods and his assimilation with them. He sacrificed to Jupiter of the Capitol; he dedicated a temple to Minerva; he opened the basilica of Julius Cæsar with imposing ceremonies, placed therein a

[16] Merivale, xxx.

statue of the goddess Victory, and dedicated the shrine of Julius on the spot where his body had been burned to its ashes. This was but a beginning of a systematic work, in the prosecution of which he restored many of the temples of the divinities and erected others, enriching all with the spoils of his conquests. He was playing a deep game in which he plotted to capture the people through their holiest sentiments; and the people, alas! whose holiest sentiments were now sadly despoiled and almost exterminated, were taken captive unawares. Octavius was already himself their idol; he would soon become their god. Already they regarded him as the source of their prosperity and the surety of their peace; it would be a very natural process by which they should come to regard him as invested with the very attributes of deity.

In this attitude of the Roman people it was no shock to their sensibilities when they learned that Octavius had permitted the people of Nicæa and Ephesus to erect temples to the joint worship of Rome and Julius Cæsar. They were actually flattered by his restriction of his own worship to his eastern subjects; and so the work of corruption went on.[17]

In the same year the conqueror entered into a pretended deliberation of his relinquishment of the supreme power. It ended, however, according to his own well-concealed design, and he accepted with feigned reluctance the honor which his friends thrust upon him, becoming perpetual *Imperator*. He was now, by no act of his own, the military master of Rome and of the world, and Rome and the world

(17) Momsen's *Provinces*, Book VIII, ch. viii.

acknowledged it. Other offices of distinction were soon added. He accepted the powers of the Censorship, while he declined the specific title attached to them. A year later (B. C. 28) he was appointed *Princeps Senatus*, or Prince of the Senate; in which position he enjoyed the privilege of speaking first on any question proposed, and thus united the most important civil power with the chief military office. He celebrated his advancement with the display of utmost liberality. He increased the portions of grain bestowed upon the people, he elevated many persons from common to noble rank, and thus made himself appear as the fountain of honors, advancement and wealth.

Octavius now sought for some single title in which might be expressed by a single word the sum of the honors which he enjoyed and the offices which he filled. It must be a new title, such as had been borne by no one before him; but such as should express both his own estimate of himself and that of the admiring populace. At last he fixed upon the epithet "*Augustus*," a word which had never been applied to anything but the most sacred objects, such as the altars of the gods and the ceremonies of religion. This illustrious title was bestowed upon him in January, B. C., 27, in his thirty-fifth year. It was the first decided step in his deification, for which all that preceded was the logical preparation.

In suggesting it, he himself, and in awarding it, the Roman people indicated the hopelessness of their departure from God. They had just declared the deification of Julius Cæsar—*the first apotheosis since*

that of Romulus. Note this fact; but meanwhile be very careful to observe that transpiring, as it did at this particular juncture, *its whole significance is connected with Augustus rather than with his predecessor.* It was the initial act in his own deification. The people were prepared for this by the provincial worship of Julius. They themselves now worshipped at his shrine; and Augustus was his heir! After this the movement was easy and rapid.

Following the decree which gave him his title, Augustus left Rome upon a tour of the provinces. On his return the progression from his substantial to his actual deification was continued. In B. C. 23, his countrymen conferred upon him the *Potestas Tribunitia*, by which he became the acknowledged chief of the people as he already was chief of the Senate. From early days the persons of the tribunes were considered sacred, and to offer one of them violence was a capital crime. This inviolability was now transferred to the emperor, and while it increased his power over the people, it contributed also to the veneration with which they regarded him, and promoted that adulation which was fast ripening into positive adoration. In the same year he accepted the *Potestas Consularis*, or consular power, for life. The senate decreed that he should occupy a seat between the two actual consuls at all assemblies, their equal in office, but their superior in honor; and thus much more than a *primus inter pares;* rather the supreme magistrate of the city.

Augustus was now the acknowledged head of every department of the state but one. It only remained for him to become high priest and all earthly power

would be in his hands. In the year 12 B. C., his aged colleague, Lepidus, died; and the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, which he had held, became vacant. Augustus might easily have possessed himself of it before the death of Lepidus, but his shrewd moderation was again displayed in his aspirations for the honor, and as usual only rendered the honor the more certain. The office was at once bestowed upon him, and thus the control of all religious matters passed into his hands. His power was now complete. He ruled the whole circle of life and controlled its every element throughout the extensive dominions of a mighty empire. At last he had reached the goal which he had set before himself in his youth. He had attained it by a consistent prosecution of the systematic plan which he had adopted when he returned from the East in triumph, after the defeat of Antonius, and set himself to the task of captivating and conquering the people through their religious sentiments. He aimed from the first to secure not only their allegiance but their adoration. He believed in his own divinity, and he determined that the Roman world should believe in it also. He would rule that Roman world through their devotions. So mounting upon the foundation of military, civil and judicial offices, impressing upon each the form of his own pretended piety, he reached at last the summit of a high-priesthood which was at once martial, magisterial, judicial, imperial—a high-priesthood such as no man had ever filled before; the glittering embodiment of human imbecility upon the one hand, as the royal high-priesthood of Christ is the glorious embodiment of divine wisdom on the other.

There was now no hindrance to the practical deification of the emperor. It had already been suggested in connection with the apotheosis of Julius Cæsar that Augustus himself enjoyed an effluence from the deity;[18] but now the opinions of his subjects took other shapes than those of mere suggestion. Altars were raised to him; and in the provinces temples were erected and societies organized to promote his worship.[19] The abominable blasphemy invaded even the Holy Land itself; and the City of Samaria, for many generations the rival of Jerusalem, became its rival in a deeper and more desperate sense, by containing a temple built for the worship of Augustus.[20]

At last in the year 14 A. D., this "August" Emperor passed away and the senate decreed what they might long ago have enacted but for the characteristic shrewdness of that singularly shrewd man, who cared little for the form so long as he enjoyed the substance—the senate decreed his absolute deity.

EXTENT AND SIGNIFICANCE.

Such then was the crowning iniquity of the Roman world, the final form of heathenism. The blasphemy which had been committed many times before in history, in the divine honors paid to princes, was now committed in a peculiarly formal and emphatic way. It furnished a suitable climax to the progressive deterioration of the religion of the Roman Empire and was its natural conclusion. It was simply the logical outcome of that degradation of the gods and disbelief in

(18) Encycl. Britt,, "*Augustus.*"
(19) Merivale; xxxiv; xxxvi; xxxix.
(20) *Life of Christ;* Geike, ch. iv.

them which had been brought about by their multiplication, together with the exaltation of man which had been promoted by the extending conquests of Rome and the increasing power of those who had achieved them. The Roman ruler had been glorified; the Roman gods abased—that is all of it. Some who lived near enough to the emperor to know his frailties sneered at his lofty pretensions and ridiculed the decrees which translated him to the skies; but the vast majority of the teeming millions of the Empire received their new god with cordial approbation and rendered him sincere service. In doing so they honored the power which had given peace to the world and to which they owed the security of their persons and possessions. They became zealous in their worship of the divinity of the emperor in just the proportion that they became prosperous under his protection. Moreover the imperial worship supplied a state religion to the whole empire and displaced the rites which were purely local or relegated them to the background. The statues of the emperors became more conspicuous and were more reverenced than those of the tribal gods; and the imperial priests exceeded all others in number. Even in the ancient seats of worship in worshipful Greece itself, were placed the images of the emperor. Their temples arose even in Delphi and Corinth; and the Olympian Zeus divided the honors in his own temple with the Roman Emperor.[21]

Such was the extent of this new idolatry; what was its significance? It meant that the whole world had given itself up to the worship of a mere man. It

[21] *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism;* Ullhorn, Book I. ch. I.

meant a radical and universal inversion of truth and holiness. God was dethroned; man was enthroned. "They changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever. Amen."[22]

If then we remember the character of the times in which Almighty God had before appeared to intervene in behalf of his people and his truth; to reconstruct society, and to introduce a new and better era, we cannot resist the conclusion that the same elements of immorality and idolatry which characterized those times have now appeared in more terrible form than ever before, and the world is again ripe for intervention.

But still more. This deification of the emperor must be considered, as in the present chapter, in connection with the dispersion of the people of God. The negative and the positive must be joined in a single view of this particular juncture. The worship of the emperor had a distant connection with the expectation and faith of Israel, and the ensuing conflict gave character to the age. However tolerant the Romans may have been in other religious matters there could be no concession in this. The time had come when no compromise could possibly be effected between those who worshipped the creature and those who worshipped the Creator. The people of God could not be compelled even by Roman law to worship any of the older divinities of Rome, but the law of the Empire imperatively demanded the adoration of its head. There was no escape for him who refused, inasmuch as a refusal implied both disloyalty and impiety, each in the highest

[22] Rom. iv:4.

degree. Although the full severity of these regulations did not appear until after the death of Christ, yet the principle which controlled them was definitely inaugurated when Octavius assumed the title of Augustus. From this must be dated the beginning of the final conflict. It is a repetition of the crisis in which Pharaoh exclaims "Who is Jehovah that I should obey his voice?" in which Nebuchadnezzar sets up his golden image and commands its universal veneration. But this is the final crisis, that of which the preceding were but prophecies. In the providence of God the unification of the world has been accomplished for this very purpose. Its separate nations have been brought under a single government, that government is in the hands of a single man and that man has assumed a divine title and demands divine homage. But among these nations there exists another nation whose members form a spiritual kingdom, worship the invisible God and look for a divine deliverer. These two forces are arrayed against each other now; and employing the word in a sense already explained,[23] the world is brought to the eve of an awful *duel:* Jehovah against idolatry; God against him who would be god; Christ, the deliverer, against Cæsar, the enslaver of the souls of men. This is what was signified when Octavius took to himself the sacred epithet of the gods.

Surely, then, it is the very fullness of time. If the Redeemer is ever to come to Zion it does seem as if he must come now. If the deliverer is ever to be manifested to Israel it would seem that he must now appear. And indeed he has appeared! The angels have sung their songs over Bethlehem, and the decree

(23) Page 107.

of the deification of Augustus is promulgated at the point midway between the birth of the deliverer and his baptism. The final conflict is indeed inaugurated and the final victory is foreshadowed. By and by it will be acknowledged in the despairing dying cry of one of the last of Roman emperors, "Nazarene! thou hast conquered."[24]

(24) See Ullhorn, Book III, ch. iii.

Chapter XVI.

JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION.

We have completed our sketch of the preparation of the world for its Redeemer, and have been brought in the course of our studies to the hour of his appearance. It remains for us in this final chapter to show wherein the Redeemer and the Gospel which he proclaimed, fulfilled the desires and satisfied the needs of the waiting world: To do this at length would require another volume. We can only suggest some of its principal features.

Is there any single term in which the whole history of the heathen world may be comprehensively defined? Which shall embrace in a word its study and its strife? its anxieties and aspirations? its fears and its failures? May it not all be included in this single clause—*a struggle after the realization of unity?* Let us undertake a reply.

THE STRUGGLE AFTER UNITY.

The heathen world, though it had lost the knowledge of God, perceived as clearly as even we who stand in the light of the Gospel, that both the physical and the moral creation were in a state of division and discord, but was unable to account for it, or correct it. The effort of their thinkers from the first was to effect harmonization. This is the explanation of all

their philosophies; their theories of war, of government, of morals and even of religion.

1. *Physical.* In the first place they beheld mankind divided into diverse races and hostile factions. The natural inclination of each separate tribe was to make war upon its neighbors. And yet in this condition of mutual antipathy there always existed a vague belief in the substantial unity of mankind, and the attempt was made again and again, often unconsciously, to manifest that unity by artificial methods. This attempt found its chief expression in the great empires. In each the effort was made upon a separate and distinct line, and each was to some extent an improvement upon its predecessor.

In the most ancient times, the nations were strictly separated from each other; each race lived and labored for itself. There was no common work in which they might experience a reciprocal influence and make together a common development. In the earliest empires, force—brute force—was the only agency employed, and its results were the most unsatisfactory.

With the overthrow of the early empires their successors undertook the introduction of intellectual elements, and we have noted the improvement in the condition of the subject races under the Persian and Macedonian dominion. Finally appeared the Roman empire, the best solution of the problem which it was possible for the world to offer. It was the heir of its best thought and its best methods, as they had been expressed in the empires which preceded it; and it added to the physical and intellectual elements which had been introduced before, certain moral elements

which were displayed in the final development of Roman law. No more satisfactory attempt could possibly be made without the aid of a divine revelation. But the unity of mankind was not yet manifested. The old world had not been able to produce from itself any such thing as we recognize in Christian universalism. There was a degree of uniformity; but no illustration of that true unity which only prevails in connection with those characteristic individual features which Rome would have obliterated. True unity is "a comprehension of the manifold under a higher principle of organization."[1] This was a limitation which it was impossible for the thought of the heathen world to pass. It looked at humanity from the wrong standpoint. Its centre was political, not religious—the city of the Cæsars, not the City of God. Consequently its view was from the circumference after all. It could not understand humanity as a whole, and therefore could not understand it in its divisions. So the last attempt of the heathen world failed, after a noble struggle, as all attempts had failed before. Though one might proclaim himself a "*citizen of the world*," the citizenship was an artificial one. Men do not become citizens of the world until they become citizens of a kingdom which is not of this world, and until the latter is realized they must remain as before, "hateful and hating one another."

2. *Philosophical.* There was also a struggle after philosophical unity—a struggle as intense as it was old. The book of Job furnishes a complete illustration of the travail of soul into which one is brought when

(1) Ullhorn, p. 27.

he attempts unaided to solve the problems which are presented to him in the universe about him. Mind and matter seem to be in eternal conflict. So soon as men begin the study of nature they are made aware of the existence of certain forces which seem to them to be in irreconcilable antagonism. The one class seem to make for righteousness and peace, the other for evil and misery. Dualism is the necessary outcome of such studies, and dualism, as we have seen, is the constant blemish upon the best thought of heathenism, a blemish which the best thinkers of the heathen world were unable to eradicate. In consequence of the permanence of this misinterpretation of the universe, all the evils and mistakes of heathen philosophy were produced: Parseeism, with its two supreme divinities—Ormuzd and Ahriman; Polytheism, with its benevolent and malevolent divinities; and, in its last stage, the eternal conflict between Fate and Virtue[2]—the final mystery and misery of the heathen world.

3. *Other forms* of the same struggle were simply manifestations in one direction or another of the effort to effect this philosophical unity. The heathen world attempted to realize it in some individual law of action which should produce ethical unity, but they found no standard of morals to which they might appeal, and in obedience to which their burdened consciences might be at rest. They sought obedience to what they supposed to be the will of the gods and the law of the universe, in practices the most diverse—in some cases noble and pure, in others shameful and abominable.

They endeavored to realize what we would call

[2] *Prophecy and History;* Edersheim, p. 42.

spiritual unity in some solution of the problems of creation and causation. They asked themselves the question, Who is the Author of all things? Who is the Supreme One, and what is he, and where does he reside? What does he expect of his creatures? What is obligation? How may we be brought into fellowship with him?—"What must I do to be saved?"

But the struggle was a hopeless failure. Discord everywhere remained; unity was nowhere realized.

UNITY THE KEY TO THE GOSPEL.

When we regard the condition of the heathen world with reference to its great comprehensive struggle, we can give no better answer to the questions which we have proposed at the beginning of this chapter, than this: that unity is the key to the Gospel, and, in his own comprehensive unity,[3] Christ Jesus is "The Desire of all Nations"—the perfect fulfillment of their hopes and the perfect answer to their desires. He himself is the answer to all the questions which the world had propounded. *Wherein the answer?*

1. The Gospel reveals *one God* besides whom there is none other; the Creator of the universe, the supreme object of adoration. Although he was clearly revealed to the Jews alone, yet, even in the Old Testament, it is made plain that he is not a tribal God, as were the gods of the heathen, but the "God of the whole earth." In the Gospel, however, this truth becomes luminous, and the words of Jesus, such as he spake to the woman of Samaria, reveal him as the God and Father of all.

2. The Gospel reveals *one Race*, with a common

[3] See *Life of Christ;* Lange, Book II, Part ii, § 1.

ancestor, in whom it was made in the divine image, and all its subsequent divisions the result of its sin.

3. The Gospel reveals sin as the *one cause of all sorrow;* so that sorrow itself is not the chief misfortune of the race; but sin, which is something more and else than a misfortune.

4. The Gospel reveals *one Redeemer*, whose blood is shed for all mankind, and in union with whom all mankind are to be re-united. In him the "middle wall of partition is broken down." He is the one Master in whose presence all men are brethren, and his is the one Kingdom in which all men may be fellow-citizens.

5. The Gospel reveals *one destiny*, unto which the race as such, together with the earth, its peculiar dwelling-place, is finally to be brought. At last there shall be but "one flock and one shepherd."

The whole design of the Gospel is concisely and significantly expressed in the words of Paul to the Ephesians: "Endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace! There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all."[4] As a certain great philosopher, when he was asked to give in a single sentence the sum of all philosophy, taking up his Bible and turning to the words of the Apostle, in the last verse of the eleventh chapter of Romans, answered: "Of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things, to whom be glory forever. Amen."[5] This is the answer of the Gospel.

(4) Eph. iv: 3–6. (5) Rom. xi: 36.

But we are here confronted with a very important question: How is the unity of the Gospel actually effected? The answer to this question forms the conclusion of all the study in which we have been engaged.

We have seen upon the one hand how the world was left to itself to work out an experience in which it might prove at the same time its own helplessness and its need of a divine helper; and we have seen upon the other hand how a single nation was chosen to be distinguished from all other nations of the world only in this, that it should receive certain positive divine revelations. Humanity had consequently been moving along two lines altogether diverse from each other, yet tending to the same end; and while, as we have seen, there was some association between the two classes, their work and place in the providence of God were each peculiar and distinct. It was necessary that there should be upon the one hand, the most painful sense of sin, the most intense desire to know the truth; and upon the other hand, that there should be such knowledge of God and of his benevolent purpose in connection with the race as should incline the mind to a certain hope of deliverance. Without the first, a sinful world would not have accepted the means of deliverance which was in store for it; and without the second the expectation of deliverance would have been so vague and confused that it would have commanded neither respect nor reception.

The great mission of the heathen world in the providence of God was to teach man *to know himself*. The great mission of the Jewish world was to teach man

to know his God. Each was incomplete in itself. The knowledge of self and the knowledge of God both were necessary before unity could be effected; but when both should be acquired, unity would be effected in the reconciliation of the only elements that were actually at variance. At the cross of Christ this two-fold knowledge was completed, and the mission of both the Jew and the Gentile world accomplished. The cross of Christ sets forth the final conclusion of heathen philosophy—a conclusion which heathen philosophy itself was unable to express. The cross of Christ also sets forth the final conclusion of Jewish revelation in terms which even the Hebrew prophets had been able only to foreshadow. It shows man himself; it shows man his God. Nowhere else in all the universe is there such an exhibition of the nature of the sin of man and of the extent of its guilt; nowhere else is there such an exhibition of the justice and the mercy of God. Here, and only here, "mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other."(6)

The cross of Christ, therefore, presented the only answer to the great problem of heathenism, in that it set forth the only real source of discord and the only reliable method whereby unity might be effected. Man and God were the elements at variance—man in his sin, God in his holiness. The cross of Christ brings them together. It introduces a mediator, the missing factor in all heathen philosophy, the exclusive revelation of divine religion. "In Jesus Christ," says Pascal, "all contradictions are reconciled." The Gospel represents

(6) Ps. lxxxv: 10.

God as now reconciled to man, and beseeches man to be reconciled to God. If this be accomplished all is accomplished, and there is an end of all discord. Man is not only reconciled to brother man, but he is reconciled to the whole universe. The very war of the elements is in process of abatement, and the collision of physical forces is arrested. Man goes out with joy, and is led forth with peace; the mountains and the hills break forth before him into singing, and all the trees of the field clap their hands.(7) All things conspire to a single blessed end, and work together for good to those who have first been reconciled to God.

It is for these reasons, then, that we call the cross of Christ a comprehensive unity; it speaks the message of reconciliation. In it the two paths upon which humanity had been led, converge at a point which is central, both as to place and time, in the history of the world. Thus, whether men will receive it or not, the cross of Christ divides that history; Calvary is its focal point and "Jesus and the resurrection" is its key.

UNITY IN THE INCARNATION.

But there is an element in addition to mere reconciliation in which the unity of the Gospel is effected. This element is implied in reconciliation, as its conclusion and its crown. It expresses the answer of the Gospel to heathenism on the practical side, as reconciliation expresses that answer upon the philosophical; and while it is itself the supreme product of revelation, it furnishes a beautiful and striking contrast to the supreme product of heathenism.

(7) Is. lv: 12.

What was the supreme product of heathenism on its practical side—the final outcome of its unbelief? We have already found the answer in the worship of the emperor. We have also found that the worship of the emperor is the last and most complete form of an idolatry, such as had often been observed, and in which it had always reached its climax. Human impiety cannot reach a higher pitch of audacity; nor human depravity a lower depth of degradation. This is positively the end—self-worship; the deification of man.

But we are bound to observe that this form of idolatry is never manifested except in an age of great intellectual activity and after a career of brilliant wordly success. It never obtains among savages; nor even among the semi-civilized. We have observed on the contrary that it obtains in Egypt under her mightiest monarch; in Babylon under her "head of gold," in Rome under her "august" emperor. It is evident that it is not characteristic of fresh departure from God; but of that stage which succeeds to earnest thought and prolonged speculation. It is characteristic of the final struggle after truth, wherein the truth is earnestly attempted; but attempted in a spirit which is totally incapable of understanding it, and which therefore results in the deeper error.

It has been true of the sinful race as a whole, as it is often true of the individual sinner, that like the bewildered wanderer, he is perchance never so hopelessly lost as when he stands opposite the door of his own father's house; but with his back, not his face, to the threshold. It was this that constituted the fullness of time and brought the heathen world within call when

the apostles went forth with the cry "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." The thought of the heathen world had swung round to monotheism again; which while it was a monotheism cold, abstract and indefinite, nevertheless brought it within the reach of the invitation of the Gospel. So also the practice of the heathen world in the deification of man, had moved on to the very meridian of the Cross, albeit at a point which was absolutely antipodal. Nevertheless it was the same meridian. The Gospel therefore contained the answer to the deep desire which was thus expressed —a blessed truth which was the perfect polaric contrast of this accursed error. *That truth was contained in the incarnation.* The error did not reside in the worship of a divine man, but in the worship of a deified man. The whole race, including the heathen world, was seeking for a divine man. But like those old Chinese sages who, following the universal yearning, went forth to the west seeking a divine teacher and brought back only Buddha; so the search of the heathen world ended not at the feet of the divine man, but at the shrine of a deified one. The universal yearning, however, is sufficient evidence that some such being was a spiritual necessity. The seeking soul of heathenism had been led sadly astray, in a long, long voyage over a stormy sea, and now sought to anchor in the same treacherous shallows which it had before approached, in its desperate self-deception, with no chart to guide, and with a compass whose deviation they had no means of compensating. Nevertheless the instinct even of the heathen soul was not wholly obliterated, and by means of that which remained of it, though

sadly perverted, it was providentially guided to a point whence the sea was clear and the course straight to Him who was at once very God and very man, though it led through a whole hemisphere.

Let us drop the figure and say in plain words that the step from the worship of the emperor to the worship of God in Christ was both great and radical. It was complete inversion. Instead of the worship of a man who sought to become god, was substituted the worship of God who had indeed become man. The worship of the emperor, therefore, prepared the mind for the reception of the Gospel, inasmuch as the most sublime truth of revelation furnished the complete answer to the final culmination of heathenism. While in the worship of the emperor an external uniformity was artificially created, the departure from substantial unity was rendered all the greater. Man was separated yet farther from God and brought into deeper antagonism with himself by the pretended advancement of a man to a position infinitely beyond his fellows. But the very opposite is effected in the incarnation. God comes down to men; God is manifest in the flesh. The God-man becomes a perfect mediator, and absolute unity is the blessed consequence. In that mediator God and man are at one; not by any artificial elevation of man, but through the actual condescension of God. The exaltation of man follows as an imperative sequence.

> "The God of glory down to men
> Removed his blest abode;
> Men, the dear objects of his grace,
> And He their loving God."

This is an assimilation to the divine absolutely unlike in kind anything that heathenism ever conceived, and

infinitely more complete. It is more than fellowship; *it is sonship.* And this is the Gospel! This is the meaning of "Jesus and the resurrection."

THE PREACHING OF THE APOSTLES.

In corroboration of the conclusions which we have reached we adduce, finally, the preaching of the apostles. It will be observed that they apprehended the situation and endeavored to meet it. We take, as an illustration, what may be considered as the most complete specimen of apostolic preaching to the heathen which is recorded—the address delivered by the Apostle Paul in the Areopagus. Let us observe the method which he pursued in presenting Christ to them in the very seat of their own false philosophy and mistaken worship.[8] Let it be remembered that he had now reached the chief intellectual centre of the ancient world—Athens; which had given it language, thought and beauty; which had taught it philosophy, rhetoric, science and art; where Socrates had lived and labored; where Plato had written the Republic, and from which had emanated all of its most important theories. He was obliged to wait in Athens for a few days for the coming of Silas and Timothy; and we read that "his spirit was stirred in him when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry." He first conversed with the Jews in their own synagogues, where he also met certain "devout persons," such as have been described in the preceding chapter. He also disputed in the market with the heathen whom he there encountered. Here he met the representatives of the last great schools of

(8) See a fine Analysis in Schaff's *Church History*, § 73.

Greek philosophy, the Epicureans and Stoics; and thus the Gospel came in contact with the final phase of thought in the heathen world. Stoicism and Epicureanism—the one with its pantheism, the other with its materialism, both with their pessimism, encountered the religion of Jesus. Their feverish desire to listen to something new is also expressed in their comments upon his theories. "He seemed to be a setter-forth of strange gods," and they were therefore anxious to hear him at some length. He preached to them, "*Jesus and the Resurrection:*" Jesus, the Mediator between God and man; the resurrection of Jesus, as affording the sure ground for the hope of immortality. They brought him to the Areopagus, declaring that they desired to know "what these things meant;" and Paul, in the sermon which he delivered in response to their invitation, sets forth in every sentence that he utters, the answer of the Gospel to some characteristic phase of heathen worship, philosophy or belief. His first sentence is, "Ye men of Athens I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious," in which there is a distinct reference to the endless multiplication of their divinities. He proceeds to say that he had found an altar with this inscription, "To the Unknown God," to which altar we have already made several references. Notwithstanding their multitudinous deities, this altar was, as Paul implied, the expression of their virtual, though abstract monotheism. Standing in that magnificent city which had been the teacher of the world, it sadly proclaimed that there was a limit even to the knowledge of the wisest Athenians; that there was one matter concerning which they were incap-

able of instructing the world, and that matter the most important of all. Such ignorance was dense and deadly. If there was only one god whom they knew not, the gulf in their knowledge was a bottomless abyss! *They knew not God!* In spite of the multiplication of their gods and goddesses, this gulf was impassable. Therefore, this Unknown God Paul proceeded to declare unto them. In the next sentence he defines him, in words which are at once most concise and most comprehensive. This Unknown God is the *sole* Creator, and the Creator of *all things*. He is Lord not of one nationality, nor of one portion of the universe, but he is the "Lord of heaven and earth." He is a spirit. "He dwells not in temples made with hands." He cannot be worshiped by the gross material methods which they had observed. He is not in need of such offerings as they had been accustomed to render to him. He has all fullness in himself. "He giveth to all life and breath and all things." The unity of God, as Paul declares, implies the unity of the human race. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." He is the author of providence as well as the author of creation, and human history has been ever subject to his control. "He hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation." Then follows a declaration for the sake of which this, our book, has been written, in which the Apostle declares the divine purpose in his providence. "That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us." The difficulty in their search for God did not reside in his

distance from them, but in their distance from him, through the blindness which sin had produced. Then, as he had declared that God was the creator of all things, and so before all and over all, he now proceeds to declare that God is also immanent in all things, "In him we live, and move and have our being;" and he supports the declaration by a quotation from one of their own poets. His conclusion is drawn with remarkable courtesy, as though he would give them the credit for the argument rather than take it to himself. Alluding to the splendid monuments of art in gold and silver and marble, which stood in such profusion around him, he taught them, even from that which they themselves had admitted, that his fundamental proposition should also be their own final decision—that the God-head could not be "like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device." He had therefore come to call them to repentance. The times of ignorance were over; the times of certain knowledge were at hand. This Almighty, Eternal, Invisible Spirit "had come down in the likeness of men," in the person of that "man whom he had ordained." He had "given assurance unto all men," in that this divine man had established his divine nature and claim by an actual resurrection from the dead, and an actual ascension to glory, which infinitely surpassed in power as it challenged in reality the apotheosis of the Cæsars.

The offer of reconciliation was thus distinctly stated. Should they refuse it they would be held to account in that "day appointed of God" when he would "judge the world in righteousness" by that very mediator whom he had appointed and whom Paul had now presented.

The sequel might have been anticipated. Some mocked, while others listened with such interest that they desired to hear him again. A number, however, were convinced, believed and received the Saviour, among whom were two important persons, one of them a member of the tribunal in whose court the apostle had proclaimed the Gospel. Such, then, was the preaching of the Gospel. This is a fair illustration of the way in which it was presented to the people of that age. It meant, as in this address of the apostle Paul, Unity; unity by reconciliation through a mediator. It meant forgiveness of sin through his blood, and fellowship with God through his person. The Epicureans and Stoics who listened to Paul discovered that they both had sought for unity and peace in a false reconciliation. In the preaching of Jesus and the resurrection, the Gospel substituted for the intense desire which they both manifested to escape from sorrow, a deeper determination to be rid of sin. It substituted for the pursuit of happiness to which they were given, the development of holiness. It substituted for the service of self, in which they were engaged, the service of another. It transferred the scene and scope of its hope from the present, in which all their desires centered, to the future. It followed time with eternity.

CONCLUSION.

And this is the preaching of Gospel still; the only refuge of a sinful world. "Jesus!" the redeemer of men; "The Resurrection!" eternal life in his presence.

A writer in a recent review[9] calls attention to the

[9] *The Scottish Review;* Oct. 1889.

singular character and work of Florence Wilson, better known among scholars as Florentius Volusenus. History has played fast and loose with his reputation, but he was in his day a most distinguished man. He was the protege of four cardinals, the confidential correspondent of Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, and enjoyed a wide celebrity among other persons prominent in both church and state. He is best known to us by his once famous work upon the *Tranquility of the Soul*, originally published at Lyons, in 1543. Its form is that of a dialogue between himself and two friends. The scene is laid in a garden, situated on the heights overlooking the city of Lyons, probably in the suburb called Fourviers. Here in a shady retreat the three friends had met to while away the hours of the day in sober and improving discourse. Volusenus selects a subject at the suggestion of his friends, *Peace of Mind*, and at their request proceeds to explain its nature, its advantages, and the means of acquiring it. After a variety of discourse upon the subject, in which, after reviewing the teachers of philosophy and showing how they fail to produce the state of mind which they all profess or at least aim to obtain; he shows that in the teachings of Christianity alone true peace of mind is to be found, and concludes with the relation of a dream or vision which appeared to him, and from which we learned his own philosophy. In this dream, which occurred in the happy days of his youth, he saw a magnificent temple situated on a little hill, at whose foot was a meadow through which he had been wandering. The temple was of great extent, built with consummate art, encircled with a wall. At

its gate sat an old man of venerable aspect to whom Volusenus applied for admission to enter. The request was granted. The old man took him by the hand and led him within the enclosure. Stopping at a porch which was supported by eight pillars, he directed his attention to the fact that each bore an inscription upon it. Volusenus examined these and found that each embodied a leading doctrine from some philosophical school. The examination of these upon the part of Volusenus leads to the conclusion that beautiful as they may be in themselves, and valuable to humanity, they are hopelessly wanting in vital influence. Volusenus thereupon kneels down and prays for light from heaven, showing the way to peace and rest. His prayer is heard. Looking up he sees another hill higher than the one on which he is standing; and on this hill, reached by a straight and narrow path, there stands another temple infinitely more beautiful than the first. As he approaches its gates there meets him a man in whose countenance shines a certain celestial majesty. Saint Paul, for it is he, bids Volusenus be of good cheer, and pointing to the inscription upon the front of the temple bids him read it: "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house." His guide then tells him that this is the haven of rest for which he has been so long in search, and directs his attention to the two columns which adorn the entrance. On one is inscribed the old proverb of Greek philosophy, "Know thyself;" on the other, "Know thy God." Finally pointing to the arch which these two columns support he shows him sculptured there the image of Christ—crowned with thorns; his side, his hands and his feet pierced with wounds,

and his body streaming with blood. Above his head appear the words, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him!" beneath his feet the inscription, "I am the way, the truth and the life." Then for the the first time Volusenus understood wherein true tranquility of mind could be found, and awoke from his dream.

Volusenus is the type of the thoughtful man of the ages, and his experience is that of all who have finally arrived at rest. He is the type of all the men of God to whom the knowledge of his salvation has been vouchsafed, whether they lived before Christ or after him: Abraham, and Moses and David and Isaiah, as truly as Peter and James and John and Paul. Job entered the haven of rest by the same path; so also did Dionysius the Areopagite. We are admitted by the same door to-day. The entrance is between the two columns which were centuries in building and beneath the arch of which Christ is the crown. *Know thyself! Know thy God!* We must know each, and know both, as they are brought together in the substantial unity of the Redeemer and in the reconciliation of his cross. The truth is made very plain by providential history and absolutely luminous in the Gospel. Blessed are they that apprehend it, and looking up to that crucified but risen Redeemer pronounce in faith and love the prayer of the penitent publican, "*God be merciful to me a sinner.*"

THE END.

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